

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
IN THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE ROMANS

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The object of this thesis is to examine all pertinent textual data, both for the Old and New Testaments, of the quotations from the Old Testament used by Paul in his letter to the Romans; to determine what text or texts Paul used, and when this is done, to explain, in so far as possible, why Paul deviates from this text or texts.

In researching the critical textual data of the Old Testament we have used the seventh edition (1951) of Rudolf Kittel's Biblia Hebraica for the Hebrew text. For the Greek text we have used H.B. Swete's 1887 edition of The Old Testament in Greek because it follows the pure text of Codex B except where there is a lacuna. For further examination of textual variants, in the Greek text, we have relied on Brooke and McLean's 1906 edition of The Old Testament in Greek for the Pentateuch. For the Psalms we have used A. Rahlfs' Septuaginta, vol.X, Psalmi cum Odis. For Isaiah and the Minor Prophets we have relied on J. Ziegler's Septuaginta, vol. XIV, Isaias, and vol. XIII, Duodecim Prophetae. We have also used Holmes and Parson's Vetus Testamentum Graecum (1823).

For researching the texts of later Greek versions we have used Field's Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt.

In researching the textual data of the New Testament we have used the text of The Greek New Testament (1966) published by the **United** Bible Societies. In tracing the textual variants we have relied on Nestle and Aland's Novum Testamentum Graece, twenty-fifth edition (1963), Tischendorf's Novum Testamentum Graece (1872), and von Soden's Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments (1913), and others.

Using these sources we have exhaustively researched the textual situation for each of Paul's quotations in Romans. In studying

these textual data we have made tables to aid in analysing the textual situation to enable us to see clearly just what Paul has done with the text. We found that Paul, in the majority of cases, cites verbatim from the Septuagint. Where he does not, he omits, adds, substitutes, or inverts words or phrases freely. He, also, in several cases, abridges texts or combines texts into composite quotations. The tables also help in noting what text was followed when variants occur.

After examining the textual situation in each quotation we turn to see how Paul uses the citation from the standpoint of hermeneutics. Our chief concern here is to see if Paul uses the citation in the same sense it is used in the Old Testament. We are also concerned to see if Paul is influenced by his Rabbinic background. To find this out we examine how the citation is used in the Talmud, the Targums, and the Midrash. Also in this connection we study what has been published of the manuscripts found at Qumran. It is apparent from this study that Paul was influenced by his long and close connection with Rabbinic Judaism. However, Paul is not bound by Rabbinic hermeneutics. His deepest influence stems from his Damascus road experience. This experience leads Paul to give the Old Testament a Christological interpretation throughout Romans. Paul modifies the Old Testament text so that he may show its connection and bearing upon Jesus the Messiah and explain the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Church.

Then in our conclusion, after analysing the textual situation, we consider the possible sources of Paul's citations. In doing so we consider four sources, namely: 1. Paul quoted from testimonia. We trace the background of this theory and conclude that Paul may

have used some testimonia, unknown to us, for the composite quotations where there is no intervening comment, but variants, are perhaps better explained as arising from other causes. 2. Paul quoted from Aramaic Oral Tradition. We feel that no doubt there was such a tradition but there is no case where it is demonstrable that any variant in Romans is due to influence from this source. 3. Paul quoted from texts that are not available to us today. We attempt to show that it is not wise to explain textual variants by this method unless there is convincing substantiating evidence. 4. Paul quoted from the Septuagint. This is our conclusion. Though Paul often cites in favor of the Hebrew against the Septuagint and in one case he follows the Hebrew almost entirely, yet Paul is dependent, for most of his citations, upon the three texts [^] Codices A, B, and [^] represented by ~~X~~ of the Septuagint.

Finally we consider the reasons for the variations from the Septuagint in these citations of Paul. We believe that there are at least three reasons for the variants, namely: 1. Grammatical variants. There are only comparatively few places where the text is varied because of grammatical requirements. These are considered, but this type of variation does not seem of pressing importance because it turns upon grammatical necessity rather than Paul's deliberate choice of words. 2. Variants which arise from a faulty memory. This reason is reviewed quite thoroughly. We conclude that, while memory lapse can never be ruled out as a possibility, yet the evidence would indicate caution. We also feel that the variants are better explained by other reasons. 3. Variants arise from hermeneutical reasons. We conclude that this is the compelling reason for most of the variants found in Paul's citations from the

Old Testament in Romans. A careful study of these citations reveals that Paul was a master editor. By this we do not mean that Paul dealt loosely with the Old Testament. To him the Old Testament was the oracles of God and was to be revered by every true worshipper of God. But Paul did feel free to re-phrase the text of the Old Testament without, in most cases, altering its meaning. But there are variants which involve a change in the meaning of the Old Testament text. These changes usually are for clarification or to enable Paul to apply the citation more broadly and Christologically. Thus Paul does not use the Old Testament arbitrarily but he feels free to modify the text so he may apply it Christologically and eschatologically in the wider context of the Church.

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CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
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Introduction

"The use of the OT in the New has long been recognized as an important field of research."¹ Since the Reformation scholars have been interested in how the OT is used in the New.² Of more recent date Simon Kistemaker has published a book on the use of the OT in Hebrews³ (1961), Edwin D. Freed in 1965 produced a valuable book on the use of the OT in the Gospel of John,⁴ and just this year (1968) R.H. Gundry published The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel.⁵ These books indicate the continued interest and a new direction in the systematic examination of the way the OT is used in the NT. It is to continue in this new direction of investigation that the writer of this thesis, through the inspiration and encouragement of his advisors Professor Hugh Anderson and the Rev. Dr. Ian Moir, seeks to study certain aspects of the use of the OT

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1. E.E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1957, p.1.
 2. cf. F.A.G. Tholuck, The Old Testament in the New, translated by C.A. Aitken in Bibliotheca Sacra XI, 1854, pp.568-616.
 3. Simon Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Wed.G. von Soest, N.V. Amsterdam, 1961.
 4. E.D. Freed, Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1965, Novum Testamentum Supplementum XI.
 5. R.H. Gundry, Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, Novum Testamentum Supplementum XVIII, 1968.

in Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

Therefore, in order to have a well grounded approach to our subject, it was thought best to gather all pertinent textual data concerning the citations in Romans, both in their OT and NT settings. Then, with this in mind, we should endeavour to reach some conclusions as to the text that Paul used and how he used it. This study, which is largely textual, seeks to answer such questions as, What text did Paul use? Was it the MT? or was it the LXX? If so which of the LXX texts? Did he confine himself to one text? Or did he check the LXX text with the MT? Or did he use a text which is lost to us today? These with other related questions are the main subjects of enquiry. When we have found a tentative answer to these textual questions, then we ask why Paul uses the citation as he does. In doing this we endeavour to understand the OT citation in its OT context to determine the literal and historical meaning which was in the mind of the OT writer at the time of the writing. When this is ascertained as nearly as possible we ask, Did Paul understand and use the citation in this way? If there seems to be a difference between Paul and the writer he cites, we are concerned with the question Why?

The procedure of presentation is as follows: first the NT text is given together with the Introductory Formula (IF), then immediately below the Hebrew MT follows. After the MT the LXX text is given. Where there is a parallel NT citation or a Targum of the OT text these are given also. In this way it will be convenient for the reader to consult the texts involved and thus follow the argument of the thesis more closely.

With a few exceptions the books of the NT contain abundant references to the OT. Many of these references are actual citations.

Westcott and Hort have compiled an exhaustive list of these references.¹ Others have compiled lists of citations.² However, since few writers are agreed on the exact number of citations for any given book, in this study we take as formally cited OT passages (1) those passages which are cited with an introductory formula, such as καὶ οὕτως γέγραπται etc. (2) or those passages which, with no introductory formula, appear from the context to be unmistakably intended as quotations or agree verbatim with some context in the OT.³

Various thoughts, concepts and methods of interpretation often found in one body of literature are echoed in another and this is especially true in the relationship of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the NT writings. Therefore reference is made to the Dead Sea Scrolls whenever they are pertinent to the citation under consideration.

Reference is also made to the Midrash. In this study we have used exclusively Midrash Rabbah.⁴ The Talmud also yields helpful evidence of text and Rabbinic methods of interpretation. In referring to the Talmud we have used the Babylonian Talmud.⁵

In our investigation of OT quotations located in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers we have limited ourselves to those ~~works~~ ^{included} ~~Fathers~~ ^{in which quotations actually occur} by Lightfoot in his treatise on The Apostolic Fathers,⁶ that is, to Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, the Didache and Barnabas. It was felt that the Church Fathers of later date than these would not

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1. B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek, Macmillan & Co., Cambridge and London, 1890, p.581f.
 2. H.B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge University Press, 1914, p.382f. See also Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150f.
 3. Ibid, p.382.
 4. H. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Soncino Press, London, 1939.
 5. The Babylonian Talmud, translated by Rabbi Dr. I. Eppstein, Soncino Press, London, 1948.
 6. J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, Macmillan & Co., London, 1907.

be especially helpful in our study because they are too far removed in time to be of real helpfulness in determining the text used by Paul or how he used the citation.

The texts used are R. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica,¹ and the Greek New Testament for Translators.² It has seemed good to use H.B. Swete's text of the Septuagint³ because he uses the pure text of either MSS B, A, or \aleph whereas Alfred Rahlfs' text is a compilation text.⁴ We have also consulted E. Nestle and K. Aland's Novum Testamentum Graece,⁵ and F. Field's Origenis Hexaplorum, vols. I, II.⁶ Since there is a difference in the numbering of the MT and its Greek version and English translations in order to avoid confusion we have followed the chapter and verse numbering customarily used in English Bibles. The LXX chapter and verse numbering we have put in parentheses.

There is no evidence that Paul questioned the authorship of psalms ascribed to David. Therefore we consider such psalms Davidic as well, although we realize that the authorship of many of the psalms ascribed to David are questioned by modern scholars.

For convenience we have also used the following abbreviations:

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1. Rudolph Kittel, Biblia Hebraica, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart, 1951.
 2. The Greek New Testament, edited by K. Aland, M. Black, B.M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren, American Bible Society, British and Foreign Bible Society, National Bible Society of Scotland, Netherlands Bible Society and Württemberg Bible Society, 1966.
 3. H.B. Swete, The Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge University Press, 1900.
 4. Alfred Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart, 1965.
 5. E. Nestle, K. Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 25th edition, 1963.
 6. Fredericus Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Alex. Macmillan, London, 1875.

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| A.V. | - <u>The Holy Bible</u> , King James. Authorized Version. |
| Arndt and Gingrich | - Wm.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, <u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</u> , 1957. |
| Brooke and McLean | - A.E. Brooke and Norman McLean. <u>The Old Testament in Greek</u> , 1906. |
| Denney, <u>EGT</u> | - James Denney, <u>The Expositor's Greek New Testament</u> , vol.II, 1939. |
| Field | - Fredericus Field, <u>Origenis Hexaplorum</u> . |
| Gesenius | - Wm. Gesenius, <u>Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon</u> , translated by S.P. Tregelles, 1884. |
| IF | - Introductory Formula for the Old Testament Quotations used by Paul. |
| Kittel | - Rudolph Kittel, <u>Biblia Hebraica</u> . |
| Liddon | - H.P. Liddon, <u>Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans</u> , 1893. |
| MT | - The Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible. |
| MS, MSS | - Ancient Unical and Minuscule Manuscripts of both the Old and New Testaments. |
| Meyer | - H.A.W. Meyer, <u>Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans</u> , 1879. |
| Murray | - John Murray, <u>The Epistle to the Romans</u> , 1960. |
| NEB | - <u>The New English Bible</u> . |
| NT | - <u>The New Testament</u> . |
| OT | - <u>The Old Testament</u> . |
| p46 | - <u>The Chester Beatty Papyri of Romans</u> . |
| Rahlfs | - Alfred Rahlfs, <u>Septuaginta</u> , vols. I, II, and X. |
| RSV | - <u>The Holy Bible</u> , Revised Standard Version, 1952. |
| Sanday and Headlam | - Wm. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, <u>International Critical Commentary, The Epistle to the Romans</u> , 1895. |

Soden	- <u>H. von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, 1913.</u>
Stuart	- <u>Moses Stuart, A Commentary to the Epistle to the Romans, 1859.</u>
Toy	- <u>C.H. Toy, Quotations in the New Testament, 1884.</u>
UBS	- <u>The Greek New Testament, see page 4, note 2, for details.</u>
Ziegler	- <u>Joseph Ziegler, Septuaginta, vol.XIII, Duodecim Prophetiae, 1943 and vol.XIV. Isaias, 1939.</u>
1QH	- <u>Thanksgiving Psalms.</u>
1QIsa ^a	- <u>The Complete Isaiah Scroll found in cave 1.</u>
1QIsa ^b	- <u>Fragments of Isaiah found in cave 1.</u>
1QM	- <u>War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness.</u>
1QpHab	- <u>The Habakkuk Commentary.</u>
1QS	- <u>Manual of Discipline.</u>
1QS ^a	- <u>Rule of the Congregation.</u>

In addition books that are referred to often are referred to by the surname of the author without the initials or book title. Where more than one book by the same author is referred to the surname as well as the title of the book is given. Of course, in every case, the full details are given wherever the author is first cited and in the Bibliography. To avoid confusion of references, no Latin abbreviation other than Ibid. is used.

Our hope is that this study may contribute to a fuller understanding of the text and usage of OT citations in Romans.

ROMANS 1:17THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 1:17

καθὼς γέγραπται,

ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR HABAKKUK 2:4

וְצַדִּיק בְּאִמּוֹנָתוֹ יַחִיָּה

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR HABAKKUK 2:4

ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

NEW TESTAMENT PARALLELSGALATIANS 3:11

ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

HEBREWS 10:38

ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This citation is introduced by Paul with his favourite introductory formula *καθὼς γέγραπται* . He uses this formula ten times¹ in Romans, and indeed oftener according to some texts.² It is also used four times in I, II Corinthians. This makes a total of fourteen to seventeen times for Paul. About 1/5 of all his citations are introduced by this formula.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

For the text of Romans 1:17 there are only a few variants. According to von Soden Codex A, Clement of Alexandria and a few other MSS read γάρ for δέ ; Codex 192 of his Ia3 group⁽¹⁸³⁷⁾ adds καὶ after καθὼς ; and Codex 175 of his Ia2 group⁽¹⁸³⁸⁾ omits δέ ;³ Kilpatrick indicates that Codex C and two MSS Vulgate add μου before δίκαιος but three of the Vulgate^{MSS, the} Syriac Harclean Version, Origen in the Latin and Jerome put μου after κτιστως .⁴

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no variants whatever for the portion of Paul's citation in Romans 1:17.⁵

b. Septuagint Text

Codices A and C transpose the text of B to read ἐκ μου κτιστως rather than ἐκ κτιστως μου . Codex W^C omits μου in agreement

1. cf. also Rom. 2:24; 4:17; 8:36; 9:33; 10:15; 11:26; 15:3,9,21.

2. UBS has this reading for 3:4; 9:13; 11:8 as well.

3. H. von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, Göttingen, 1913, vol.II.

4. The Greek New Testament, British and Foreign Bible Society, edited by G.D. Kilpatrick, London, 1954.

5. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

in agreement with the Roman text.¹ Aquila has καὶ δίκαιος ἐν πίστει αὐτοῦ ζήσεται . Symmachus reads ὁ(δὲ) δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει ,² which seems quite important in the light of the interpretation of Romans 1:17.

Though the MT has no variants except in the part of verse 4 preceding Paul's citation the whole verse is so badly translated by the LXX that it has led scholars to surmise that there were either different vowel pointings for the Hebrew text or a different Hebrew text was used.³ Marcion omits this whole citation from his text.⁴

The LXX translation of נִצָּחַן , by his constancy, or, by his steadfastness, with ἐκ πίστεως μου requires only a very slight change in the Hebrew, viz. נִצָּחַנִּי . However, Codex A which reads μου ^{ἐκ} πίστεως has no support other than Codex C.⁵ The Hebrew word translated by πίστεως has a wider connotation than πίστις . It means constancy, firmness, steadfastness.⁶ It is used in Exodus 17:12 to indicate that Moses' hands, held up by Aaron and Hur were "steady". It is also used of the moral nature of God in Deut. 32:4,⁷ where it is translated in the A.V. "a God of truth (πίστις) without iniquity", but a better translation would be "true or faithful to his word or promise." It is also used of moral acts of man in Prov. 12:22.⁸ The A.V. translates it: They that deal truly (πίστις)

1. Joseph Ziegler, Septuaginta, vol.13, Duodecim Prophetæ, Societatis Litteratum Gottingensis, Gottingen, 1943.
2. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, vol.II
3. C.H. Toy, Quotations in the New Testament, Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y. 1884, pp.125-126.
4. Wm. Sanday & A.C. Headlam, International Critical Commentary The Epistle to the Romans, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1895, p.28.
5. Toy, p.126.
6. Wm. Gesenius, Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon, translated by Samuel Tregelles, Samuel Bagster & Sons, Ltd., London, 1884.
7. cf. Ps. 33:4; 89:33; and others.
8. cf. Prov. 7:28; 9:3; Ps. 37:3.

are his delight. Again in Psalm 119:86 it is translated by faithful (ἐληθινῶν) and in Isa. 25:1 by faithfulness and truth (ἐλθήσεια). The verb אמן means in the active sense to sustain, to support, intransitively it means to be firm, to be stable, and in the Hiphil, it means to trust, to confide in, believe, lean upon. In the Niphal it means to be faithful, to be trustworthy.¹

"The significance of the noun is moral and religious fidelity and constancy, faithfulness to all obligations, whether to God or to man. The prominent idea is steadfast adherence to him in true-hearted obedience."²

Therefore, the LXX translation, while it may not be considered a mis-translation, seems to do less than justice to the full meaning of באמנות.³ It also seems that μου is an incorrect translation for it is a change of 3rd person to 1st person as if the Hebrew were באמנותי.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The citation comes rather unexpectedly in a vision of Habakkuk concerning the judgment of the ungodly Chaldeans. This presumptuous and proud people, despite their appearance of power, might, and stability, will not continue. But contrary to appearances, the just shall live by his steadfast reliance upon God. God's righteousness will be vindicated. אמנות is set in opposition to the/pride and arrogance of the Chaldeans.⁴

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul omits the mis-translated μου of the LXX. He must have been aware of the difference between the Hebrew and the LXX

1. Gesenius.

2. Toy, p.127.

3. cf. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.117f.

4. C.F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament; The Twelve Minor Prophets, vol.II, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1868, p.74.

here and perhaps consciously left out the $\mu\upsilon\nu$ because it did not contribute to the meaning of the citation as he wanted to use it. Or, less likely, he may have quoted from memory without feeling obliged to give an exact rendering of the text.¹ Paul does not cite either the MT or LXX exactly. Ellis points out that Paul in this citation is at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary, but adds that there is very slight variation from the LXX.² Perhaps he knew yet another text? In the NT Codex C there is an harmonization with the LXX by the addition of $\mu\upsilon\nu$.³ However, there is no textual support for $\mu\upsilon\nu$ in the LXX or for Codex C of Romans.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

The Habakkuk Commentary pesher for Hab. 2:4 reads:

"This means all doers of the law in the house of Judah, whom God will rescue from the house of judgment because of their labour and their faith in the 'Teacher of Righteousness'."4

Concerning this pesher of Hab. 2:4 Bruce has this to say:

"For the Qumran commentators did not claim that the 'Teacher of Righteousness' was the one to whom all prophetic scripture pointed forward, although his career was foretold there. They believed that all prophetic scripture was concerned with the fulfilment of God's purpose in the endtime and that the key to the understanding of this purpose had been granted their Teacher."5

In the Habakkuk context it is the Chaldeans whom God uses to chastize Israel and upon whom judgment will fall in turn. But in

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1. F.J. Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans, Lutterworth Press, London, 1962, p.57.
 2. E.E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.
 3. Leenhardt, p.57.
 4. M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Secker & Warburg, 1958. p.368.
 5. F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, The Tyndale Press, London, 1959, p.77.

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the Habakkuk peshet the passage is made to apply to the Romans.¹

Lindars is largely correct in his understanding of this interpretation. He believes that Hab. 2:4 is applied in the manner of an apocalypse to the writer's own time.² That the delay spoken of in verse three serves to make verse four say that until punishment comes, both the evil and the good will continue to store up their rewards, the evil, punishment, the faithful, deliverance - the exact opposite of the way Paul interprets it. Lindars feels the situation is further complicated because, for the righteous, faith in the Teacher of Righteousness is also required in much the same way as Paul requires faith in Christ. However, this point is debatable.³ Brownlee offers a useful description of the differences between the interpretation Qumran gave Hab. 2:4 and that of Paul. He states: "Careful analysis makes clear the details of the interpretation. The 'Just' are identified with 'the doers of the Law in the house of Judah'." To "live" means to escape the house of judgment, the society of doomed men. The Hebrew word **אֱמוּנָה** means both faith and faithfulness, as normally in Hebrew, for the law-doers are to be saved both by their labour and by their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness. It is evident that Paul has substituted Jesus for the Teacher of Righteousness and has narrowed the concept of **אֱמוּנָה** so as to include

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1. W.H. Brownlee, The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1964, p.66.
 2. B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1961, pp.229-230.
 3. Herbert Braun says Cullmann and Bruce view faith in the Teacher of Righteousness in the sense of faith in a person. (Thus they agree with Lindars). But he points out that Carmignac finds this personal element of faith dropped and understands faith as directed only to the teachings of the Teacher of Righteousness. Burrows seems to waver between the two views. Braun, Herbert, Qumran Und Das Neue Testament, J.C. Mohr, Tübingen, 1966, pp. 167-171.

faith alone as the ground for justification, yet even for him faith must show itself in fidelity to Christ.¹

"There are also fundamental differences as to the nature of the faith involved. Faith in the Teacher of Righteousness was merely belief in an authoritative spokesman for God, but faith in Jesus Christ is trust in a Redeemer; and in view of this basic difference, belief in the Teacher of Righteousness was simply a meritorious work, rewarded by salvation; whereas faith in the Christ is an acceptance of redemption as a free gift. The salvation involved in each case may likewise be different, that of the Qumran sect perhaps referring to survival of the sect in this world; whereas that spoken of by Paul is a spiritual redemption for all eternity.² Despite these differences, we have important background in the enrichment of a text preparatory for its use at a higher level of meaning in the NT."³

Brownlee feels that the interpretation of the Habakkuk Commentary shows a strong influence of the Jewish Targum to the Prophets. Faith is required in the Teacher of Righteousness whereas Paul applies this passage in Hab. 2:4 to faith in Christ or more strictly speaking he applies it to the gospel cf. verses 16 and 17. It is the "doers of the Law who shall live" in the pesher - this is the exact opposite of Paul's thought.⁴

b. Midrash

There are two references to Hab. 2:4 in Midrash Rabbah.⁵ The one found in Exodus reads in part:

"In the Messianic Age Israel will utter Song ...
Through whose merit does Israel recite Song?
Through the merit of Abraham, because he believed in the Holy One, blessed be he ... This was the faith which Israel had inherited and concerning which it is written: but the righteous shall live by his faith."

This quotation follows the MT rather than the LXX. Here in the

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1. W.H. Brownlee, The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible, pp. 126,127 (24-26,121), and by the same author, The Habakkuk Midrash and Targum of Jonathan, Journal of Jewish Studies, vol.VII, Nos. 3 and 4, 1956, p.169f, especially p.173, where Brownlee equates the faith of the targumist and Paul and that of 1Qp Hab.
 2. Paul means more by ḥeset than Brownlee indicates. For Paul ḥeset meant to have survived God's judgment. Verse 18 indicates that God's wrath is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness and thus any salvation for the sinner means that he, by faith in Christ, has been subjected to judgment and has survived and now he stands clothed in the righteousness of Christ. cf. Rom. 3:21-26; 5:17; 1 Cor. 1:30; Phil. 3:9.
 3. Brownlee, The Meaning of the Qumran Scroll for the Bible, p.127
 4. Ibid. p.81.
 5. H. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, p.284. Ecclesiastes, p.83.

Midrash the faith of Hab. 2:4 is made to reach back to Abraham and forward to the eschatological age of the Messiah.

The Ecclesiastes reference gives Hab. 2:4 a different but perhaps related meaning: It reads in part:

"But the righteous shall live by his faith means that even the Righteous One, who lives forever lives from His faith. The Holy One, blessed be He, said ... Sanctify to me the first born by faith in Me.- This is the meaning of 'but the righteous shall live by his faith'."

This interpretation pushes faith back, not to Abraham, but to the Creator Himself. It would seem that in saying that the Righteous One lives by His faith the Midrash Rabbah has reference to the LXX's translation $\epsilon\chi\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$, whereas the latter half of the interpretation may follow the MT.

These two references to Hab. 2:4 come about as close to a literal interpretation of Scripture as is found in the Midrash and afford us much light upon Israel's interpretation of this OT verse.

c. Talmud

In a passage which deals with how the prophets reduce the Torah and the Commandments to certain definite principles Habakkuk is said to have come "and based them all upon one principle, as it is said: 'The righteous shall live by his faith'."¹

It would seem by this that אֱמֻנָה was thought, at least by some, to be the basic underlying principle for the keeping of the Torah and all the Commandments. This principle was understood in a legalistic sense and given a very literalistic interpretation and application. Faith was exercised in the keeping of the minutiae of the Torah and the Commandments of Moses. No matter what the interpretation, the text follows the MT rather than the LXX.

1. The Babylonian Talmud, Makkoth, p.173.

d. New Testament Parallels

1. Galatians 3:11

In this citation Paul leaves out both the μου and the δε of the LXX. The citation is introduced by the very briefest introductory formula ὅτι which refers back to the νόμῳ at the beginning of verse eleven. Hab. 2:4 is cited to show that justification cannot be obtained by the law. ἐκ πίστεως is antithetical to ὁ ποιήσας of verse twelve,¹ or perhaps better, ἐκ πίστεως is antithetical to ὁ δὲ νόμος after the analogy of ὁ θεός in verse eight. Paul employs πίστεως here in the specific sense of acceptance of Christ whereby the believer is justified apart from works.²

2. Hebrew 10:38

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews used no introductory formula to introduce this citation from Hab. 2:4.³ He begins with a quotation from Isa. 36:20 (LXX) which he takes in a Messianic sense and connects it with ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἔξει of the LXX but he further defines the phrase by dropping the ὅτι and adding the article ὁ. This is not in accordance with the exact meaning of the words but in accordance with the fundamental idea of the prophetic announcement.⁴ The writer uses the citation to encourage his readers' endurance in the faith under their present afflictions in the confident hope of God's ultimate deliverance. This idea of patient hope is found in the Habakkuk passage. But in citing the passage the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews makes the reference to Coming refer to God not to the vision as in Habakkuk, and he also interprets it Messianically.⁵

1. H.P. Liddon, Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Longmans, Green & Co., N.Y., 1893, p.22.

2. Toy, p.127. See also E.B. Pusey, The Minor Prophets with a Commentary, Jas. Nesbit & Co., London, 1907.

3. Kistemaker, p.47.

4. Keil, The Twelve Minor Prophets, vol.II, p.71.

5. Toy, p.127. See also Pusey, vol.VI, p.81 Liddon, p.22 and others.

Lindars says of this passage in Hebrews 10:38 the writer,

"takes advantage of the Septuagint version in the verse to apply it to the Coming of our Lord in judgment. He then gives the two clauses of Hab. 2:4 in reverse order, so that ὁ δίκαιος becomes the subject of them both. This creates the desired contrast between 'shrinking back' and 'having faith' which are affirmative modes of conduct open to 'my righteous one', i.e. the Christian reader, as verse 39 shows In order to interpret Hab. 2:4 in this way he has had to adopt the reading of the LXX, which places μου before ἐκ πίστεως. It then can be referred to the subject, viz. 'my righteous one' and leaves the way open for the assumption that he will live by his own faith. It is possible that this is a deliberate alteration on his part."¹

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The substance of the message of the Epistle to the Romans, is contained in this citation from Hab. 2:4.² Therefore it is incumbent upon us to consider carefully how Paul uses this quotation.

We have already seen that the Hebrew אֱמֻנָה means faithfulness to all obligations, fidelity, constancy or steadfastness. The noun is derived from the verb אָמַן and means (1) firmness, cf. Exodus 17:12 (2) (in God) faithfulness to His promises, cf. Deut. 32:4; Psalms 33:4; 89:33. (3) (in man) fidelity in word or deed, cf. Jer. 7:28; 9:3; Psalm 37:3 and (4) (man in his relation to God) firm confidence toward God.³ It is clear from the context that the last meaning of אָמַן is the one which Habakkuk had in mind. The preposition בְּ means in, by, or at, and so we may translate the three Hebrew words of our citation literally as "the righteous (man) in (or by) his steadfast adherence (to the Commandments of God) shall live."

1. Lindars, p.231.

2. A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, London, 1952, p.81. Also A.N. Arnold and O.B. Ford, An American Commentary on the New Testament, vol. IV; Romans, American Baptist Pub. Soc., Philadelphia, 1882, p.42.

3. Gesenius.

Most writers¹ believe that באמרונתר is to be taken with the verb יהיה rather than with the noun צדיק . However Hodge believes it may be taken either with the verb or the noun.² He believes as against Murray³ that "the MT accentuation connects, as Paul does, the first two words together" that is באמרונתר goes with the noun צדיק . It seems to me that Hodge is correct, so that the citation may be read either with באמרונתר modifying the verb or the noun. Since there are eminent scholars who take either the one side or the other of the issue the problem remains unresolved.

There is also a wide diversity of opinion as to whether ἐκ πίστεως modifies δίκαιος and therefore the citation may be rendered "He who through faith is righteous shall live",⁴ or whether it modifies ζήσεται and so may be rendered "The righteous shall live by faith." On balance a small majority of writers prefer the latter rendering.⁵ However a number of writers point out that it really makes little difference, the teaching of the passage is vir-

1. Liddon, p.21.

2. Chas. Hodge, Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, W.B. Eerdmans' Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, 1951, p.32. cf. also Henry Alford, The Greek Testament, Lee & Shephard, Publishers, Boston, 1881, p.320, but for the contrary view see R.C.H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Wartburg Press, Columbus, Ohio, pp.86-87.

3. John Murray, The Epistle to the Romans, W.B. Eerdmans, Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, 1965, vol.I, p.33.

4. David Hill, Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1967, p.157. Thus also the RSV and NEB.

5. Sanday & Headlam, p.28, Murray, vol.I, p.33, J.B. Lightfoot, Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul, Zondervan Publication House, Grand Rapids, 1957, p.250. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.118f; for contrary opinions see Nygren, p.84f, Hodge, p.32; F.F. Bruce, The Letters of Paul, p.183; H.A.W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1884, vol.I, p.72.

tually the same in either case.¹ It is difficult to make a decision. The fact is that neither the OT Hebrew nor the NT Greek is sufficiently clear to be decisive - they may be construed either way. Therefore, in the light of divided opinion by scholars, one must take that interpretation which one believes to best fit the context of the case. Although the grammar, at least of Romans, seems to favour the latter view mentioned above, yet when all circumstances are considered I believe Nygren has analysed the whole situation well and has given weighty reason for the acceptance of the opinion first mentioned above.²

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1. Hodge, p.32; J.R. Boise, Notes, Critical and Explanatory on the Greek Text of Paul's Epistle, edited by Nathan E. Wood, Silver Burdett & Co., 1896, p.21; Alford, p.320; Wm.S. Plummer, Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, D.F. Anson, Randolph & Co., N.Y., 1871, p.55.
 2. Nygren gives three reasons for his conclusion. (1) First he says the context demands that the words be thus coupled. *πλoтic* is used four times in verses 16-17. Paul is speaking about the righteousness which is by faith, *δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως*. If Paul had thought of *ἐκ πίστεως* as joined to the verb, in the ordinary manner, the quotation would have given no confirmation of his view. His Jewish opponents, though holding a different position than Paul, were as certain that the "just shall live" as was Paul. What Paul wants to reinforce is the fact that "he who through faith is righteous" shall live. (2) The second reason he gives is: The very structure of Romans and the letter as a whole are proof that in its theme *ἐκ πίστεως* is connected with *ὁ δίκαιος* and not with *ζήσεται*. The first four chapters deal with, not just righteousness, but, chiefly him "who through faith is righteous." In these chapters the emphasis is upon *πλoтic* which is used twenty-five times while *ζήσεται* is used only three times. In chapters 5-8 just the opposite is found, *ζήσεται* is used twenty-five times but *πλoтic* is found only twice. Thus the theme of these two sections of Romans is clearly emphasized. For chapters 1-4 it is *ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως* and for chapters 5-8 it is *ζήσεται*. (3) Lastly Nygren sees in Romans 5:1 a transition from the first section, chapters 1-4, to the second section, chapters 5-8. Paul in 5:1 sums up the first section by saying *δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως*. This is precisely the coupling of *ὁ δίκαιος (=δικαιωθέντες)* with *ἐκ πίστεως* done by Paul himself. Nygren, pp.85-87.

However this may be, the prophet Habakkuk declares that though the Chaldeans, proud and haughty as they seemed, were in control of vast territories and about to overrun Israel, and seemingly invincible and permanent, they would perish because of a lack of dependence upon the true God. On the other hand the righteous, because of his steadfast faithfulness in keeping the Law of Moses, would live. It is interesting to note that the Talmud, in the passage referred to above, indicates a gradual summing up of the Commandments of Moses which began on Mt. Sinai with 613 Commandments and ends with this citation from Habakkuk 2:4 which sums up the whole Law in one word, "faithfulness". Thus an expression consisting of three Hebrew words forms the epitome of all that is required of the Jew by ^{the} Law. It is a witness to what the Jew thought to be the centre of his religion, that the one who is faithful toward God in keeping the Commandments will live and further, because of the covenant relationship with God, will have a right to life. It is, by, or, in, this 'faithfulness' that the righteous shall live.¹ Thus for the Jew, this citation was the highest expression of the efficacy of the Law. All who were faithful in keeping the Commandments would live. The cause of all their troubles was the failure of Israel to keep the Law faithfully. This, I believe we are warranted in saying, was the interpretation the Jews placed upon the verse. The Qumran Commentary on the book of Habakkuk saw its fulfilment in contemporary and imminent events. The 'faithfulness' of Hab. 2:4 becomes faithfulness to the Teacher of Righteousness.² Now we must see how Paul uses it.

Paul takes these three Hebrew words which formed the highest

1. Nygren, p.82.

2. Leslie C. Allen, The Old Testament in Romans 1-8, Vox Evangelica 3, 1964, p.8.

expression¹ for what was required from the Jew by the Law and sees in them the highest expression of what is required of the followers of Christ the simple commitment of oneself to God, through faith in Jesus Christ. He saw that this citation pointed up the fact that even the keeping of the Law required faith, whereas the Jews by-passed faith and emphasized the doing of the letter of the Law as the requisite for salvation. Paul understood that the real purpose of the Law was to make manifest and increase sins.² It would thus lead man to realize his inability to fulfil the Law adequately to obtain salvation and so cast himself upon the mercy and grace of God through faith in Jesus Christ, and that this faith was counted to him for righteousness.

Therefore we may conclude that Paul does not cite Hab. 2:4 in relation to its historical context. Neither does he cite the verse in accordance with the Qumran Literature,³ or the popular Jewish interpretation, nor does Aquila or Symmachus agree with Paul. Paul perceives that that which is the fundamental underlying concept of the Law and the Covenant is also the basic concept of Christianity -

1. Sanday & Headlam, pp.29-30.

2. Paul's attitude toward the Law is very complex. There are many problems which still perplex scholars. Paul's attitude to the Law must be understood in the light of his eschatology. The Law as a divine way of salvation was finished at the resurrection of Jesus. Therefore with the resurrection the validity of the Law ceased. The Law culminates in Christ. It had provisional regulatory significance which terminated at the resurrection of Jesus which proves both His Messianic status and the breaking in of the *ἔσχατον*. Paul also understands the Law as a sum of prescriptions. Sin is the breaking of these Commands. The Law was reduced therefore, to the scope of ethical law. cf. H.J.Schoeps, Paul, Lutterworth Press, London, 1961, pp.174-194.

3. cf. Braun's conclusion: "Für die Beurteilung ist ja klar: das gleiche Zitat wird beiderseits verwendet. Freilich ist die Form der Verwendung bei Paulus doch derart anders als in 1Q p. Hab.8, 1-3, dass man besser nicht mit Bruce von einem pescher-Idiom auch bei Paulus spricht." p.171.

namely, that faith was counted for righteousness to Abraham, that it was basic in the acceptance of the Covenant with God, and the Law, as well as its fulfilment in their daily life. He saw that the Jews had gone astray, in trying to establish their own righteousness¹ by emphasizing the letter of the Law,² from the simple dependence upon the God of Abraham. He no doubt felt that though this may not have been in the mind of Habakkuk when he wrote these words, it was nevertheless the underlying germinal concept which is basic for salvation in the Messianic Age.

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1. Romans 9:31-10:4. But Schoeps defends Judaism against Paul's attacks and defends it as a religion of covenantal grace. He cites Rabbinic sources which emphasize the fact that all men, even Abraham, have need of divine grace. This is no doubt true. However, grace does not seem to have been nearly so much emphasized or so clearly understood and accepted as necessary to salvation as was salvation by the keeping of the multitude of regulations which had grown up around the Law of Moses. cf. Schoeps, Paul. pp.206-7.
 2. Sanday & Headlam, p.29.

ROMANS 2:24THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 2:24

τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
καθὼς γέγραπται.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 52:5

ותמיד כל היום שמי מנאצ

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 52:5

ותדירא כל יומא על פלחן שמי מרגזין:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 52:5

δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

1. J.F. Stenning, The Targum of Isaiah, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1949, p.177.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Again Paul uses the IF καθὼς γέγραπται as he does so frequently in this epistle. He quotes here from Isaiah, his favourite OT source of quotations, for the first time. He quotes Isaiah sixteen times in Romans and nine times in the rest of his epistles.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Practically no textual variants occur in this citation. Marcion and Tertullian read δι' ὑμῶν τὸ ὄνομα and also Codex 174 of von Soden's I^{a3} group⁽²⁵⁵⁾ omits γάρ.¹

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Kittel lists only one questionable reading for the portion cited by Paul in Romans 2:24 יְהוָה for יְהוֹשֻׁעַ.

b. Septuagint Text

There are no textual variants listed by Ziegler.²

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Isaiah 52:5 is set in the context of a promise of deliverance for Israel from captivity, and a promise that Israel, God's people, shall know His name. The idea seems to be that in the mis-treatment of God's people in captivity, God's name is blasphemed by their captors. God promises deliverance. Or it may be that "this is because it appears that God is powerless to save his own people; the coming deliverance will take away the dishonour to God's name."³

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul put his regular introductory formula after the citation,

1. von Soden, vol.II.

2. Joseph Ziegler, Septuaginta, vol.XIV, Isaias, Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis, Göttingen, 1939.

3. Lindars, p.22.

the only occasion in the NT in which it is so placed. Meyer remarks " καθὼς γέγραπται is placed at the end, as is never done in the case of express quotations of Scripture."¹ However, though it is put in after the citation, it is none the less indicative of Paul's awareness that he is quoting sacred Scripture. Paul also adds γάρ to the citation. γάρ is not found in the MT or in the LXX. It is, no doubt, put in here to show how this citation justifies τὸν θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις of verse 23.² There is also nothing in the MT which corresponds to δι' ὑμᾶς of the LXX and the NT text. ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν is also not in the MT. The διὰ παντός of the LXX is left out by Paul, μου is deleted and τοῦ θεοῦ is substituted for it in the citation by Paul. This change of text is necessitated by the fact that in Isaiah God is the one who is speaking through Isaiah so that τὸ ὄνομα μου there belongs naturally to the text. But Paul applies this citation to a present situation in which he wants to make plain whose name it is that is blasphemed and so he changes it to τοῦ θεοῦ . τὸ ὄνομα is put before δι' ὑμᾶς because Paul perhaps wanted to place emphasis upon the phrase rather than on δι' ὑμᾶς as in the LXX. It seems to me that Paul makes the above changes in the citation here purely for exegetical reasons.³ The literal rendering of the MT is, "continually, all day long, my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles." And Paul's rendering is different again, "The name of God is on your account blasphemed among the Gentiles." Toy feels that the insertion of δι' ὑμᾶς and ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν are natural interpretations from the context.⁴ However, in the Hebrew text it is not quite clear whether it is the nation of Is-

1. Meyer, vol.I, p.130.

2. Liddon, p.55.

3. Allen, p.28.

4. Toy, p.129.

rael that blaspheme God; nor is it clearly evident that the Gentiles are blaspheming God's name on account of Israel, though it may be inferred.

As is the case in most of Paul's quotations, he is not concerned with the historical sense of the Scripture he quotes.¹ Parry says that Paul adopts practically the LXX text but uses it in a different sense.² Davidson thinks that he follows 'neither the Hebrew nor the Greek'.³ The fact that the IF is put at the end of the citation leads Sanday and Headlam to think that Paul was aware that he was quoting freely; and that the IF placed after the citation is an after thought put in to indicate that the words he had used were Scripture.⁴ Although this may have been the case it seems a bit unlikely⁵ because of the closely reasoned argument of Paul in Romans.⁶ Romans is not a hurriedly written letter. It is a well thought out and planned letter in which Paul expresses his "well considered" view especially on the doctrine of justification by faith and other themes.⁷

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

1QIsa^a supports the MT, however, 1QIsa^b has a lacuna at this

1. Meyer, vol.I, p.130.
2. R. St. John Parry, Cambridge Greek Testament, Romans, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1912, p.57. See also C.K. Barrett, The Epistle to the Romans, Adam & Charles Black, London, 1962, p.57.
3. Samuel Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics, Thomas Clark, Edinburgh, 1843, p.395.
4. Sanday & Headlam, p.67.
5. James Denney, The Expositor's Greek New Testament, edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1900, p.600.
6. Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, S.C.M. Press, Ltd., London, 1959, p.199.
7. Nygren, pp.5f, 140.

point.¹

b. Post-Apostolic Fathers

Concerning the use of Romans 2:24 in the Post-Apostolic

Fathers Lindars has an interesting paragraph, it reads:

"In the spurious Epistle of Clement 13 this citation is applied to the scandal of heresy. The text is unusual for it is written twice in similar, but not identical forms, which indicates the author did not have access to the LXX, but quoted from memory. This quotation also appears in Ignatius, Trall.8 and Polycarp, Phil.10, the application is to heresy. There is another reference to this text in Polycarp, Apost. Const. 1:10; III:5 where heresy is not indicated, but the citation is given a moralistic application. It is used in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho 17:2 where it describes the Jews who go about blaspheming the name of God by condemning the Christians. Tertullian also applies it in Adversus Marcionem in reference to the Jews who refuse to believe and their persecution of the Lord because of their unbelief. These last two, Justin's Dialogue with Trypho and Tertullian's reference in Adversus Marcionem are the closest to the literal interpretation of Isaiah 52:5."²

Lindars is not wholly correct in his reference to the spurious Epistle of Clement. It is not heresy that the writer refers to but the inconsistency between the profession and the practice of believers which caused the unbelievers to blaspheme.³ The same is true in regard to his reference to Ignatius and Polycarp; there is no reference to heresy as such, but to inconsistency in Christian life.⁴ However, we must note that the text of "the spurious Epistle of Clement" agrees with the LXX against Rom. 2:24 in leaving out Paul's τοῦ θεοῦ but then departs from both the LXX and Paul in

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1. J. De Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in the New Testament, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1962, p.6.
 2. Lindars, pp.22-23.
 3. J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.49, 91.
 4. Ibid, pp.118, 148.

adding πάντων before τοῖς ἔθνεσιν .

Clement of Rome also makes an allusion to Romans 2:24 in his Epistle to the Corinthians (47). He says that the divisions in the church at Corinth have caused the unbelievers to "heap blasphemies on the name of the Lord by reason of your folly."¹

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Isaiah 52:5 and Ezekiel 36:20, 23, the sources of this citation, refer to that blasphemy which was occasioned among the Gentiles by the misery of the Israelites "whose God they were thus led to regard as unable to protect his worshippers."² But perhaps more correctly the captivity of Israel and Judah caused the Gentiles to scoff at God because it seemed apparent to them that Israel's God was powerless to help them.³ This citation is not properly a prediction but rather a simple declaration of an existing fact.⁴ The fact that Israelites who claimed to worship the true and only God were carried away into captivity indicated to the Gentiles that Israel was deluded. So they scoffed at, and blasphemed Israel's God whom they thought to be a weakling and not deserving of the devotion in which Israelites seemed to hold their God. The Targum of Isaiah gives another reason for this blasphemy, namely, that the Israelite's worship of God alone made the Gentiles blaspheme God. The Targum reads: "and continually all the day they provoke to anger because of (or blaspheme) the worship of my name."⁵ There is, no doubt, some truth

1. Ibid, pp.30, 77.

2. Hodge, p.63.

3. W.E. Vine, The Epistle to the Romans, Oliphants Ltd., London, 1957, p.41.

4. Moses Stuart, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, edited and revised by R.D.C. Robbins, Warren F. Draper, Andover, 1859, p.83.

5. Stenning, p.176.

in this statement, but it seems that resentment aroused from jealousy over the worship of Yahweh alone as supreme is less the cause of blaspheming God than is the Gentile contempt toward God who seemed to them too weak or too indifferent to protect his people.

Paul takes this citation and gives it a slightly different sense.¹ For Paul, these words pointed up not the fact that the Gentiles blasphemed God because He was a weakling, or because of the zeal of the Jews for the worship of the one true God, but that the hypocrisy and sin of the Jews themselves caused the Gentiles to blaspheme and revile their God.² Their conduct was such as to lead the pagan world to blaspheme and reproach both their religion and its author. By their hypocrisy and sin the pagan world was led to despise their religion because their God had no power to purify or restrain His followers. Barnes notes that: "they were scattered everywhere; everywhere they were corrupt and wicked; and everywhere they and their religion were despised."³

Lightfoot feels that because Paul puts the IF after the citation and because he introduces it by γὰρ "the Apostle seems to indicate that he disengages the sentence from its context, and so from the circumstances of its original application."⁴ Others have followed him in this.⁵ However, Paul often, as here, quotes from the OT without regarding the historical sense and often totally ignores the

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1. Lightfoot, Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul, p.263; Toy, p.129.
 2. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Old Testament Quotations, New Testament Studies, 7, 1960-61, Cambridge University Press, 1961, p.324.
 3. Albert Barnes, Notes, Explanatory and Practical on the Epistle to the Romans, Harper & Bros., New York, 1869, p.68.
 4. Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul, p.263.
 5. Sanday & Headlam, p.67, Arnold and Ford, p.77.

context and its historical application as well,¹ so it seems unwarranted to assume here that he uses this formula to indicate such intention, especially since this is the only place in the NT where this IF is placed after the citation. Lightfoot says the purport of Paul's language here is found in Ezek. 6:20-23,² and Arnold and Ford agree that "the passage in Ezekiel is pertinent" but the passage in Isaiah is not.³ This seems to me to be misleading. The Ezekiel passage is remarking upon the past sins of Israel not her sins during the captivity. It was Israel's sin that brought about the captivities, but their sinfulness which was no greater than that of pagan nations, did not cause the pagan world to blaspheme God. It was rather the fact that their God had sold them into captivity that made the pagan world scorn their God.

Thus we may conclude that Paul cites this expression from Isaiah 52:5 without regard for its historical setting, its context or its literal application. He sees that the statement which was true of Israel in a previous age, context, and reason, is now true of them again in his day, in a different context of dispersion, and for a different reason, namely, hypocrisy.

Clement of Rome follows Paul's interpretation closely.⁴

1. James Denney, EGT, p.600.

2. Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul, p.263.

3. Arnold & Ford, p.77.

4. see above.

ROMANS 3:4THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 3:4

καθὼς γέγραπται,

ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις ἐν τῷ
κρίνεσθαί σε .

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 51:4 (6)

למען תצדק בדברך תזכה בשפטך

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 51:4 (50:6)

ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσης ἐν τῷ
κρίνεσθαί σε .

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Paul uses his favourite IF again in introducing this citation from Psalm 51:4. For the first time in Romans Paul quotes from the Psalms. Psalms are his second most used source for quotations, only Isaiah being quoted more - twenty-five times against nineteen times for the Psalms. καθώς is read by Codices A, the Koine group of MSS, D, G,¹ most MSS, von Soden and U B S. καθάπερ is read by Codices B, X, Nestle and Kilpatrick. Since καθώς is supported by Alexandrian, Western and Byzantine texts this reading is to be preferred to καθάπερ. καθάπερ is found seventeen times in the NT, sixteen times in Paul and once in Heb. 4:2.² In four of the places³ it is doubtful as compared with καθώς. With the exception of these four places, all of which are in Romans, καθάπερ is not used with γέγραπται in the NT, and it should be noted that in each of these four cases the textual evidence is in favour of the reading καθώς. On the other hand καθώς is used at least twenty-one times in the NT with γέγραπται apart from the above mentioned four places where there is a question.⁴ This would point to scribal correction, especially in view of the fact that Phrynichus (425) condemns the Hellenistic καθώς in favour of καθό or καθαί on purely stylistic grounds.⁵

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Codices B, the Koine group of texts, G, and the majority of

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1. Nestle and Aland.
 2. A.T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research, Hodder & Stoughton, N.Y., 1914, p.967.
 3. cf. Rom. 4:3; 9:13; 10:15; 11:8.
 4. W.F. Moulton, Concordance of the Greek New Testament, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1963.
 5. J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, vol.III, Syntax, by Nigel Turner, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1963, p.320.

MSS along with Weiss read $\nu\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma$. $\nu\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is read by κ , A,D,E, and a large number of other MSS.¹ With two good Alexandrian texts in agreement, plus the Western text D, the evidence favours the latter reading. The variant, however, is of no great consequence, except that it agrees with the LXXB. Codex B is thus consistent in having the same reading in both Old and New Testaments, though, the NT reading may have been influenced by its OT reading.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Most MSS read with the LXXB. Some MSS of the LXX, Symmachus and Jerome read בדברך for בדברך of the MT.² The Syriac Polyglot Version edited by Brian Walton may read בְּדַבְּרְךָ for the pointing of this word. Codex 2013 reads $\mu\epsilon$ for the final $\sigma\epsilon$ of the LXX.³ Otherwise there are no textual variants involved in this citation. There is some confusion as to the meter of this verse in Psalm 50, although this does not concern us here.

Symmachus reads $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\iota\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\eta\gamma\alpha\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ for למען תצדק בדברך and $\nu\lambda\alpha\omega\ \kappa\rho\iota\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ for the last two Hebrew words of the citation. Aquila reads $\text{\textcircled{U}}\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta\varsigma$ and Theodotion reads $\nu\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma$. All differing from the LXX and from Paul,⁴ (except Theodotion).

The translation of תִּזְכֶּה , you should be pure, which is the Qal imperfect of זָכָה to be pure⁵ by $\nu\lambda\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma$, overcome, is inaccurate. It can only be considered a paraphrase. The LXX takes

1. Nestle and Aland.

2. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*

3. Rahlfs, vol.10. *Psalmi cum Odis*.

4. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*.

5. Gesenius says that this word is always used in a moral sense, cf. Job 15:14; 24:4 and it is so used here, while $\nu\lambda\alpha\omega$ is not devoid of moral sense, it is used more often of victory, battle, combat or in law, cf. also Wm.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, *A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament*, Cambridge University Press, 1957.

the Hebrew infinitive יָשֻׁפְּךָ as passive or middle and so translates it as $\text{ἐν τῷ κρινεσθαι σε}$, when you are judged, or, when you judge, (for yourself).¹ יָמֶלֶךְ and ὅπως are better translated as "so that" rather than in order that. δικαιῶ is used in the forensic sense of acquittal after trial. The form νικῶν is found here if we accept the reading of Codices B, the Koine texts, G and others, it occurs not at all if you accept the reading of κ , A, D, and others. It is used in the classical sense of winning a law suit. It is used here perhaps as a synonym of δικαιῶ used earlier in the verse. κρινεσθαι is used here in the classical sense much as in I Cor. 6:16; Job. 9:3; 13:19 etc.² and it is passive rather than middle.³

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

The Psalm, in which the citation occurs, is the great penitential psalm of David according to the introductory preface of the psalm, though the Davidic authorship has been questioned by many scholars. However, whether or not this is a psalm of David is not important to the context, for it is very evident that it is a psalm of penitence. The psalmist recognizes his sin is against God's moral law and that God's righteous judgment falls rightly upon his sin. He recognizes that his sin is fully known to God and that God is justified in pronouncing judgment.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul quotes Ps.51:4 from the LXX, with a word for word agreement,⁴

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1. Boise, p.34; F. Godet, Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1889; W.G.T. Shedd, Critical and Doctrinal Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, Chas. Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1879, prefer to render this verb in the middle voice.
 2. Liddon, p.60. See also Toy, p.130.
 3. Sanday and Headlam, p.72.
 4. Ibid. p.72.

except for the questionable reading of *νικῆσε* for the LXX's *νικῆθη*, and thus accepts the mistranslations of the LXX as well.¹ Paul adopts a translation which pictures the situation as though God were on trial,² again not in conformity with the context of the OT Hebrew text. However, either the active or passive could equally have been used by Paul to develop his argument. Ellis is in error concerning this citation in believing that Paul is "at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they agree",³ for the NT text in B, K, L, G and other MSS is identical to the LXX and the only variant in the other MSS is concerned only with the mood of *νικῶ*.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

De Waard says of Ps. 51:4 that the Hebrew text is clearly identical with the LXX and the variant text of LQH throws no light upon either the LXX or the Hebrew.⁴

b. Post-Apostolic Fathers

Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians quotes the first seventeen verses of Ps. 51 almost verbatim from the LXX and applies it in instruction for humility, submission and obedience to God of great men. He uses all but two verses of the psalm and so makes no attempt to arrive at any interpretation of the citation that Paul makes in Rom. 3:4. He quotes like Paul, verbatim from the LXX for the citation in Rom. 3:4.⁵

1. Barrett, p.63.

2. Parry, p.60.

3. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

4. De Waard, p.63.

5. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.15, 65.

c. Targum

As is quite often the case, the Targum gives an interpretation that is far removed from the literal sense of Psalm 51:4. The interpretation seems to want to say that David sinned his great sin, not because he was filled with lust, but to keep his subjects from saying that he was overcome by one of his servants. It is expounded thus:

"Raba expounded what is meant by Psalm 51:4. David pleaded before the Holy One, blessed be he, 'Thou knowest full well that I wished to suppress my lust, I could have done so, but, thought I, let the people not say, 'Thy servant triumphed against his master'.'"¹

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

How this part of Psalm 51:4 which forms our citation is used is not easy to determine. It comes rather suddenly into a section where David² (if David really is the author of this Psalm)³ in deep penitence, is making confession of his terrible sin with Uriah's wife after having been rebuked by God through Nathan the prophet, "In thy sayings" may refer to this message of condemnation by God through Nathan.⁴ David, though king of all Israel and no doubt with all the powers of a despot, was nevertheless overwhelmed with grief. He saw his crime to be against God and feared His displeasure. He held it as a fixed principle of his philosophy of life that God was

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1. The Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin, p.731.
 2. John Calvin, Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh, 1844, pp.65f.
 3. But of course it could be a penitential lament from almost any period of Israel's history (in fact verses 15-19 may suggest the period of the Second Temple). But there may also be a nucleus of material in the Psalm from David's time. We choose to consider the Psalm as Davidic for as Leenhardt says "The example of David is particularly significant." p.92. And it has traditionally been so regarded and was probably so regarded by Paul.
 4. Barnes, p.74.

right. David realized that his sin had not only been committed against the innocent parties involved, but ultimately it was the pride of his heart in rebellion against God. Therefore he realized, and was man enough to confess, that God was right in His sentence of condemnation. The verse may be paraphrased "My terrible sin has been committed wholly against Thee therefore Thou art altogether right in condemning me, Thou art wholly in the clear in judging me." It seems difficult to give this citation any other meaning, set as it is, in the context of personal confession of sin to God. This principle may be given wider application to include the idea that all sin of mankind is against God and serves "the purpose of vindicating the justness of God's condemnatory judgment."¹ Sin, therefore, since it is against God, vindicates and establishes God's justice in judgment.

In considering how Paul used this citation we had better look at the context. In chapter 2 he has shown that the Jew is under condemnation as well as the Gentile. This gives rise in chapter 3:1 to the objection that the Jew then would have no advantage. Paul, in verse two, denies this inference and declares that there is great advantage, for it is to the Jews God has entrusted the oracles of God - a fact which distinguishes them from all other nations. In verse 3 another objection is anticipated namely: "that God having promised to be the God of the Jews, their unfaithfulness, even if admitted, does not release him from his engagements, or make his promise of no effect."² Simply put, to the Jew, Paul's doctrine of the condemnation of the Jews is inconsistent with the faithfulness of God. The Jew felt that his covenant relation with God, which was evidenced by circumcision and the keeping of the Law, gave him the benefit of eternal

1. Murray, vol.1, p.95.

2. Hodge, p.68.

life and as to the matter of sins, each Israelite would be punished according to his sins.¹ Therefore the question would arise: "Paul, are you saying that God is not faithful?" Paul reacts in horror.

"Away with the thought of any reflection upon Him! When the case is stated between God and man there can only be one conclusion: Let God come out true, and every man a liar; let Him be just and every man condemned."²

The truth and fidelity of God must be acknowledged whatever the situation or the consequence. So Paul quotes this citation from Psalm 51:4 to show that he accepts as a general principle the idea expressed by the psalmist that all sin is against God and that he is just in the punishment of sin in all men both to the Jew and the Gentile. Paul uses this citation to show that he holds it "as a fixed unwavering principle, that God is right and true, whatever the consequences it may involve; whatever doctrine it may overthrow; or whatever man it may prove to be a liar."³ Paul does not, in verse four, seek to answer the objection of verse three, but only to show his utter rejection of any thought of unfaithfulness in God. The citation is given to show that God is faithful and invariably right in judging man. Paul does not use the citation according to its historical setting but gives it wider application.⁴

1. Hodge, p.70.

2. Denney, EGT, p.603.

3. Barnes, p.74.

4. Lenski, p.216.

ROMANS 3:10-18

The long quotation which follows in verses 10-18 is composed of citations from Ps. 13:1; 5:10; 139:4; 9:28; 35:2 and Isa. 59:7-8. They have little, if any, break between them. Here is one of the clearest examples of Paul's use of the Rabbinical method, usually called "charaz" but referred to as "Haggada usage" by Schoeps.¹ In a "charaz" a preacher strings out a series of passages (of like nature), from the OT usually beginning with the Pentateuch Paul follows this method but quotes only from the Psalms and once from Isaiah, with perhaps an allusion to Eccl. 7:20. Allen thinks that Paul may have taken this "charaz" 'from a Jewish Collection, as L. Venard suggests, and that it may even be a 'sort of psalm in use already among the Pauline Communities'. He says that "A. Feuillet considers that the mosaic of Scripture references may originally have been composed to suggest that the entire human personality shared in sin."²

Paul cites these verses to prove, in Rabbinic fashion, the universality of sin. However, in their original contexts they do not refer to the depravity of all men, but to the wicked and the enemies of Israel.³ There are other examples in Romans of this Rabbinic "charaz".⁴

This series of quotations has had an unusually checkered textual history, and presents an example of how quotations in the NT may affect the OT text. Verses 13-18 got imported bodily into Psalm 14 as an appendage to verse 4. They are still found in Codices K*, B, R, U, and many other texts of the LXX. From here these verses found their

1. Schoeps, p.175.

2. Allen, p.28.

3. S.L. Edgar, Quotations in the Old Testament, New Testament Studies, 9, p.55f.

4. Sanday & Headlam, p.77. cf. 9:25f; 11:26f; 11:34f; 12:19f.

way into Jerome's first edition of the Psalms and are commonly printed in the Vulgate today. From the Vulgate they were incorporated into many versions and translations including the Coverdale Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, etc. So English Churchmen still read them with nothing to distinguish these verses from the rest of the text. All this in spite of the fact that there is no Hebrew textual support for these verses.¹

Since the various quotations are strung together to form a unit in Paul's text we will treat them as such, only dividing the analysis of the texts for convenience in treatment.

1. Sanday & Headlam, p.77.

ROMANS 3:10-12THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 3:10-12

καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι

οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνίων, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν. πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 14:1-3

אין עשה....היש משכיל דרש את אלהים הכל סר
יחדר נאלחר אין עשה טוב אין גם אחד

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 14:1-3 (13:1-3)

οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός...τοῦ ἰδεῖν
εἰ ἔστιν συνίων ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν· πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρεώ-
θησαν, οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ECCL. 7:20

כי אדם אין צדיק בארצ אשר יעשה טוב ולא יחטא:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ECCL. 7:20

ὅτι ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὃς ποιήσῃ ἀγα-
θὸν καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Paul for the fourth time uses καθὼς γέγραπται to introduce an OT quotation. However here he adds the recitative ὅτι to confirm the following as a quotation much in the sense of using quotation marks.¹

This is the only place where Paul so uses ὅτι. In Gal. 3:13 he has ὅτι γέγραπται. He also uses ὅτι to introduce a citation in Gal. 3:11. But ὅτι occurs nowhere else in Paul's IFs.²

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The text is relatively free of variants. Kilpatrick³ indicates that Codices B, 1739, a few other MSS, the Syriac Peshitta Version, Origen, omit the last οὐκ ἔστιν in verse 12, so also Weiss. In addition Sanday and Headlam cite 67**, and the Westcott and Hort margin as omitting this οὐκ ἔστιν of verse 12 as well; that is, the one after ποιῶν χρησιμότητα. They add further that the reading of Codex B and its allies for these verses is open to the suspicion of assimilating to a text of the LXX.⁴ Von Soden lists Codex 103 of his H group of MSS⁽¹⁹⁰⁸⁾ and a large number of I^{a2} and I^{a3} groups of MSS which omit ὅτι in verse 10, and Codices 256⁽³¹⁹⁾ and 161⁽⁶³⁵⁾ of the Ia^{3,b2} groups of MSS⁷ read οὐδεὶς for οὐδὲ εἷς.⁵ All the better MSS read with the text here except those which have been noted above. Tischendorf indicates that the δ before συνίω is supported by \mathfrak{X} , D, E, K, L, P, and other MSS, it is omitted by A, B, G, and a few other MSS. δ before ποιῶν is supported by \mathfrak{X} , D, E, the Vulgate, Origen and others, it is omitted by A, B, G, K, L, P, and other MSS.⁶

1. Robertson, Grammar of the Greek New Testament, pp.951-953.

2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.156-185.

3. The Greek New Testament.

4. Sanday & Headlam, p.79.

5. Von Soden, vol.II.

6. C. Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Graece, vol.II, Leipzig, Giescke & Devrient, 1872.

7. Von Soden's text reads 'b² for 161. It should read 'b¹.

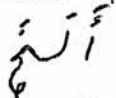
3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

The $\gamma\sigma$ of Psalm 14:3 seems to be read $\lambda\sigma$ in Psalm 53:4 and it probably should be read $\gamma\eta\kappa\lambda\gamma\sigma\gamma$, also $\gamma\eta\lambda\gamma$ is read $\gamma\eta\lambda\gamma$ by at least one MSS.¹

b. Septuagint Text

The article δ is read before $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\gamma$ in \aleph , and Codex A omits verses 3-10 of the Psalm altogether.²

Aquila reads $\epsilon\chi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ for the LXX $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\iota\gamma\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$. Origen agrees with LXXB.³ The Arabic root  of $\gamma\eta\lambda\gamma$ means, to become sour, as milk. The Niphal of this verb is used in a moral sense here and in Ps.53:3; Job 15:16 etc.⁴

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

These verses of Ps.14:1-3 come at the beginning of a psalm, which the introductory preface cites as a psalm of David. The first words of the Psalm are "The fool has said in his heart, there is no God". Then the psalmist goes on to speak searchingly of the depravity of man. Psalm fourteen is a short psalm only containing seven verses. It ends on a note of cheer and a promise of salvation, for his people Israel.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul makes quite a few changes in the LXX text in the first part of the citation, although the text from $\epsilon\chi\zeta\eta\tau\omega\gamma$ on is identical with the text of the LXXB. In fact there are so many changes that some have thought that verse ten was not a part of the citation, but

1. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

2. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10, Psalmi cum Odis.

3. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum.

4. Gesenius.

a summary by Paul of what follows.¹ From these verses in Psalm 14:1-3 Paul quotes what he feels his need warranted. Also he either confused Eccl. 7:20 with Ps. 14:1, or knowing the context of both, he wanted to change the first part of Ps. 14:1, and so he substituted δίκαιος for ποιῶν χρηστότητα of the LXX, in Ps. 14:1 with the idea of "describing ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι as a want of δικαιοσύνη".² Paul has put δίκαιος in purposely because it is in accord with the aim of his whole argument, prominently to characterize the ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι as a want of δικαιοσύνη. He substitutes οὐδὲ εἶς for οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός and οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνίων is substituted for τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστιν συνίων ἢ. Paul's addition of the article ὁ before συνίων and ἐκζητῶν implies a definite person representing a class.³ In making these changes Paul enlarges the sense of both the LXX and the MT. Liddon thinks this is "a striking instance of the Apostle's consciousness of possessing an equivalent inspiration."⁴ In verse eleven Paul changes what amounts to an implied negative statement in the Hebrew and the LXX into a directly negative statement.⁵ It is very apparent that in verse eleven Paul departs widely from the Hebrew and the LXX. Ellis says Paul in this citation departs from the LXX and the Hebrew where they agree.⁶

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

There is no reference to the Ps. 14:1-3 portion of the citation in Romans 3:10-12 in either the Targum, Midrash Rabbah, Qumran Literature or in the Post Apostolic Fathers.

1. Sanday & Headlam, p.78.

2. Liddon, p.66. See also Meyer, vol.I, p.155.

3. Meyer, vol.I, p.156.

4. Liddon, p.66.

5. Meyer, vol.I, p.155; Liddon, p.66.

6. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Most writers would agree, that in Psalm 14:1-3, the psalmist has all mankind in mind in his indictment of sin.¹ There is however, a question, for in verse four he speaks of "my people" and in verse five, the psalmist says "God is in the generation of the righteous." Bengel as quoted by Arnold and Ford² seems to have the right insight. He says: the

"Complaint describes men as God looking down
from heaven finds them, not as his grace
makes them."

This is the thought of verse two. The psalmist concludes that God cannot find even one who does good, has understanding, or seeks after God. Yet there remains a question. Stuart thinks that Psalm 14 refers to two parties in Israel.³ Denney seems to acknowledge the force of the question but concludes that it is not too important for "Paul does not rest his case on these words of Scripture; interpreted as modern exegetical science would interpret them" but "he has counted upon finding the conscience a sure ally."⁴ By conscience Denney seems to mean the universal moral consciousness of man as reflected in the knowledge of right and wrong conduct (Rom. 2:15). It seems to me that the Psalmist has the enemies of Israel in mind but in view of Psalm 51 it would seem " 'the generation of the righteous' would be the first to acknowledge that they form no exception to the universal sinfulness asserted in the opening verses of the Psalm."⁵

1. Plummer, p.115.

2. Arnold and Ford, p.87.

3. Stuart, p.97.

4. Denney, EGT, p.606.

5. Gifford as quoted by Denney in EGT, p.606.

Paul cites these verses without paying any attention whatever to the context.¹ He does not concern himself with the last four verses of the Psalm. He is not concerned with the possibility that these words may have been written as a description of the psalmist's enemies. Paul is convinced of the universal sinfulness of men; he is persuaded that the conscience of man everywhere is in agreement with him. In accord with the Rabbinic method of interpretation whereby "the human agent through whom God spoke the word may not have been aware of the divine meaning,"² Paul saw in these verses Scriptural proof of the universality of sin. Whether or not the psalmist had this in mind when he wrote the psalm is open to debate, but that Paul gives these verses from Psalm 14:1-3 this import is unquestioned.³

1. Denney, EGT. p.606.

2. Nygren, p.83.

3. Liddon, p.65; Boise, p.35; Meyer, p.155.

ROMANS 3:13THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 3:13^a

τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν , ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 5:9 (10)

קבר פתוח גרונם לשונם יחליקון

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 5:9 (10)

τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν , ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν.

THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 3:13^b

ἰδὼς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 140:3 (4)

חמת עכשוי תחת שפתימו

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 140:3 (139:4)

ἰδὼς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν.

1. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The text is practically free of variants here. A,33 and a few other later MSS have a variation of the spelling of $\lambda\alpha\rho\nu\gamma\zeta$. Codex Ψ reads $\delta\sigma\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\sigma\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega\nu$. Von Soden lists MSS, ^(1836, 70, 1878) I^{al}_{65f} and ⁽¹²⁴⁵⁾ I^{cl}_{158} , which add $\kappa\rho\iota\nu\omega\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\omicron} \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ before $\iota\delta\varsigma$ from Psalm 5:11.¹ All other MSS, with the exception of those noted above, are unanimous in their witness to the New Testament text.

2. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

The only variation Kittel lists is that of Codex B19^a (a Ben Asher text in the Leningrad Public Library which is several hundred years older in form than the MS L)² which reads יִקְרִי־נִי for יִקְרִי־נִי of the later MT.

b. Septuagint Text

$\iota\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\iota\delta\omega\nu$ is read $\nu\iota\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\iota\delta\omega\nu$ by Chrysostom and $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ is added after $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ by Codex 212.³ Symmachus has $\iota\delta\varsigma \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ for $\iota\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\iota\delta\omega\nu$.⁴

3. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

a. Psalms 5:9

This is another psalm attributed to David in the ascription. It is a short psalm with only twelve verses. The psalmist begins by pleading with God to hear his petition and lead him. Then begins an invocation against his enemies and here is where the citation is lifted out by Paul. The psalm goes on to speak of joy as God blesses

1. Von Soden, vol.II.

2. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, p.XXVI.

3. A.R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol.IV, E Typographeo Carendoniano, 1827.

4. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, vol.II.

the righteous.

That this psalm belongs to the time of Absalom's rebellion and may have been written from Jerusalem. It is a morning prayer and corresponds to Psalm 4 which is an evening prayer.¹

b. Psalm 140:3

This is another Davidic psalm, a longer psalm than Psalm 5. It is a plea for deliverance and protection from wicked men bent on the psalmist's destruction. Some refer this psalm to the rebellion of Absalom, as well.²

4. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul quotes verbatim from the LXX. There is not even a slight change, it is a word for word citation. Both citations from the Psalms are very close to the Hebrew,³ though the last clause of Psalm 5:9(10) is slightly different from the Hebrew.⁴ This is the first instance in Romans where Paul cites the LXX without any alteration at all.⁵ There are several nearly exact quotations from the LXX as well.

יחליקון indicates that they make their tongue smooth in order to conceal their real intentions under the guise of soft words.

החליק means, to flatter, in Psalm 36:3; Prov. 29:5; ἔδολε-
οῦσιν, which is a translation of יחליקון may be in the im-

1. Liddon, p.67.

2. Ibid.

3. Toy, p.131.

4. D. McCalman Turpie, The Old Testament in the New, Williams and Norgate, London, 1868, p.7.

5. He does this again in 4:7-8, 17, 18; 7:7; 9:6, 12, 13, 29; 10:13, 16, 18, 21; 13:9; 12:20; 15:3, 10, and 21.

perfect,¹ which would imply that the deceit was going on at the present time. עכשיו an adder, is an hapax legomenon from עכש to bend, coil.²

5. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS

The words of Psalm 5:9 which form Paul's citation are written in description of the psalmist's enemies and possibly also of wicked men. It has no reference whatever to the universal wickedness of man. The natural inference is that those who are not the psalmist's enemies are not thus to be described.

The context of Psalm 140:3 is very much like that of the previous psalm. Here the psalmist is describing the "evil" and "violent" man. He may have had in mind the baser sort of his age, common indeed to every age and society, when he speaks of the "evil" man. And by "violent man" he may have had his enemies in mind. But he certainly did not have the universality of sin in mind when he penned these words, if the context is anything to go by.

Paul, who was trained in Rabbinic thought, was no doubt exposed to the Rabbinic principles of interpretation. One of which was that though Scripture has its evident historical meaning, yet, "there is often a deeper hidden meaning hidden in the figures of speech and prophetic expressions; and it is the interpreter's task

1. Sanday & Headlam, p.79 ἐδολιοῦσαν may be either imperfect or second aorist. "The termination -σαν extended from imperfect and second aorist of verbs in -μι, to verbs in -ω is widely found; it is common in LXX and in Alexandrian Greek, but by no means confined to it; it is frequent in Boetian inscriptions, and is called by one grammarian a 'Boetian form', as by others 'Alexandrian'."
2. Liddon, p.67.

to discover this deeper sense."¹ Therefore, Paul felt warranted in his own context of Romans to make these words of Psalm 5:9(10) serve a descriptive purpose in relation to the universality of human sin by extending their scope to include all God's enemies. It is apparent that the citation functions for Paul only descriptively and not in any connection with the Psalm's context.

1. Nygren, p.83; see also Schoeps, p.39; J.A. Fitzmyer, "4Q Testi-
monia", Theological Studies, 18, 1957, p.523.

ROMANS 3:14THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 3:14

ὧν τὸ στόμα ἄρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 10:7

אלה פיהו מלא ומדמות ותך

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 10:7 (9:28)

οὗ ἄρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου.



1. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Codices B and 33 add $\alpha\beta\tau\omega\nu$ after $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\mu\alpha$ according to von Soden¹ and Tischendorf,² and Cyprian is added by Sanday & Headlam.³ For the readings omitting $\alpha\beta\tau\omega\nu$ Tischendorf has \aleph , A, D, E, G, K, L, P, etc. Thus the overwhelming preponderance of the MS evidence is against the inclusion of $\alpha\beta\tau\omega\nu$. Denney, says that $\alpha\beta\tau\omega\nu$ after $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\mu\alpha$ is a Hebrew idiom.⁴

Thus it could be argued that $\alpha\beta\tau\omega\nu$ was in the original text of Paul where he changed the $\alpha\beta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ of the LXX, which has universal support, to $\alpha\beta\tau\omega\nu$ in order to achieve wider application, but that it was deleted later because it was thought to be a Semitism. However, this seems doubtful, in spite of the fact that Codex B is perhaps our oldest MS evidence for this text. There is too much evidence from other texts of the Alexandrian family, that are nearly as old, if not as old as B, namely A, \aleph . There is also the very valuable Western text D, which together with the other texts seems to be conclusive evidence for the omission of $\alpha\beta\tau\omega\nu$ from our text here.

2. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

For מלא ומרמרת Kittel proposes a variant reading מלאו מרמרת and indicates that the LXX omits the ו from מרמרת ; also various MSS have ותוך for ותך .⁵

There are no variants listed by Rahlfs but Aquila has $\text{\text{και \text{ἐνεδρῶν}}$ $\text{\text{και \text{περιστομαστωῦ}}$ for $\text{\text{מרמרת ותך}}$. Symmachus has for the same reading $\text{\text{και \text{ἐπιθέσεων και \text{ζημιλας}}}}$.⁶

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1. Von Soden, vol.II.
 2. Tischendorf, vol.II.
 3. Sanday & Headlam, p.79.
 4. Denney, *ECT*, vol.II, p.607
 5. Kittel, *Biblica Hebraica*.
 6. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, vol.II

3. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This is the first psalm without an ascription to David that Paul has quoted in Romans thus far. The citation is set in a section of the Psalm where the psalmist is describing the wicked. From verse 12 through to the end of the Psalm at verse 18 the psalmist calls upon God to take notice of the wicked and remember the humble. So our citation is set in a section describing the depravity of the wicked.

4. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul has changed the word order a great deal and has omitted some words. He puts τὸ στόμα immediately after the relative pronoun ὃν whereas the LXX has ἄρᾱς following the relative pronoun οὗ. The ὃν represents a change from a singular relative pronoun in the genitive case to the plural of the same case. He inverts the word order of γέμει καὶ πικρίας making it read καὶ πικρίας γέμει. He omits αὐτοῦ after στόμα and leaves out καὶ δόλου at the end of the citation in the LXX entirely. So Paul has shortened the citation from Psalm 10:7 substantially. Denney thinks this is a free quotation;¹ perhaps Paul quotes from memory. The LXX mis-translates מַרְמִית, which means, deceit, or, craftiness, of all kinds, by using πικρίας, bitterness, animosity, etc. It may represent a different Hebrew text.² Paul has followed the LXX rather than the Hebrew.

5. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The citation from Psalm 10:7 patently refers to the wicked.

1. Denney, EGT, p.607.

2. Liddon, p.67, see also Herman Olshausen, Biblical Commentary on the New Testament, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1861, p.129.

The wicked are mentioned three times in the context above and twice in the succeeding verses. There is no indication anywhere that the psalmist has in mind the universality of sin in mankind.

So once more Paul lets the citation function descriptively in his account of the universality of sin's power - without any regard for context in the Psalm.

But none of these verses from the Psalm is really given a very violent wrench by Paul from their context, for it is not a big step from the psalmist's description of the rampant evil of his enemies to Paul's description of the universal rampage of evil, and besides Paul does think some are on God's side through faith in Jesus and so justified (see Rom. 3:25-26).

ROMANS 3:15-17THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 3:15-17

ὁξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα, σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία
ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 59:7,8

רגליהם לרע ירצו וימהרו לשפך דם נקי....שד ושבר
במסלותם דרך שלום לא ידעו

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 59:7,8

רגליהון למעבד דביש רהטן ומוחין למשפך דם זכי
עשתוניהון עשתוני ארניס ביזא רתברא בכבשיהון: אורח
שלמא לא ידעין ולית דינא במהכהון שבילהון עקימו להון
כל דדריך בהון לא ידע שלמא:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 59:7,8

οἱ δὲ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίαν τρέχουσιν, ταχινοὶ ἐκχέαι
αἷμα, (καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ φόνων)· σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαι-
πωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ οἶδασιν.

1. J.F. Stenning, pp.195-97.

1. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

There are virtually no textual variants on these verses. Codex 208 of von Soden's I^{cl} group of MSS⁽¹⁶¹¹⁾ has the present active infinitive ἐκχέειν instead of the aorist active infinitive ἐκχέαι. In the sixteenth verse Codex 70 of his I^{al} group⁽¹⁸⁹⁸⁾ reads καρδίας for ὁδοῦς. In the seventeenth verse the same MS that reads ἐκχέειν also reads ὁδοῦς for ὁδόν.¹

2. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text.

There are no textual variants for this citation in the Hebrew text.

b. Septuagint Text

Minuscule Codices 22, 48, 51, 231, 763, and others omit δέ, along with Theodotion in agreement with the MT. πονηρίαν is read πονηρά by Codex 534. ταχινοί is read ταπεινοί by Codex 88. ἐκχέαι is read ἐκχέειν by Codices 62, 90, 130, and 311. It is read ἐκχεαιμα by Codex K. ἀναίτιον is added after αἷμα but marked by an asterisk to indicate that it is a questionable reading by Codices 62, 403, 407, and several others along with Theodotion and Jerome in agreement with the MT. διάλογισμοί is added by Codices B^{ab} margin, K, A, and Q. διαλογισμοί is read λογισμοί by Codices 377, 564, 565, and others. ἀπὸ φόνων is read (φώνων by Q*) by Codices S^c (= K^c), Q^{txt}, B, 87, 91, 309, 490, and others. ἀφρόνων is supported by Codex K and Codex A reads ἀφρόνων. The third αὐτῶν is omitted through a homoioteleuton with the first αὐτῶν by Codex 62. οἶδασιν is read ἔγνωσαν by Codex A.²

1. Von Soden, Vol.II.

2. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14, Isaias.

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion all have εἰς κακὸν for ἐπὶ πονη-
ρίαν of the LXX. Origen has ὡς διοδοῦνσι , καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν
εἰρήνην for καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ οἶδασιν . Symmachus reads for
the same phrase πᾶς ὁ πατὼν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔγνω εἰρήνην . Theodotion
reads ἀναίτιον for αἷμα . Aquila and Symmachus read καὶ
ταχύνουσιν ἐκχεῖν αἷμα (ἀναίτιον) for ταχυνοὶ ἐκχεῖν
αἷμα in agreement with Codex 86.¹

3. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Isaiah 59:7,8 is set in a section of Scripture that sets forth
in pictographic detail the utter sinfulness of Israel. The context
of Romans 3:10-18 is much the same as the context of Isaiah 59:- in
picturing the wickedness of man, except that Paul has all mankind in
mind.

4. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

In verse fifteen Paul quotes freely from Isaiah 59:7,8 with
abridgement of verse seven. He condenses the first two lines of the
LXX by leaving out nearly half the words. He omits δέ, ἐπὶ πονη-
ρίαν τρέχουσιν ταχινοί . This is quite a loss, but Paul mana-
ges to retain the gist of the idea in ὅξεως οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχεῖν
αἷμα . The Hebrew literally is "Their feet run to do evil and
they make haste to shed innocent blood." Paul, wishing to shorten
these two phrases into one with more impact, yet carrying fully the
sense of depravity in the verse, renders it "Their feet are swift to
shed blood." The verbs יָרַץ and מָהֵר indicate active pleasure
in wickedness. Verse sixteen is quoted verbatim from the LXX and
verse seventeen is nearly verbatim.

1. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, vol.II.

5. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

Isaiah 59:7,8 in the MT differs from either 1QISa^a or 1QISa^b only on completely secondary grounds.¹

6. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The citation of Isaiah 59:7-8 occurs in a long section of "ethical instruction"² which extends from chapter 56 through 59:20. In this whole section Israel is the one being addressed. In the section containing Paul's citation Isaiah enumerates all the national and personal sins of Israel. The writer apparently has no one in mind except his own nation, Israel. Though Isaiah may have held the idea that all men are sinners, he is not here attempting to set forth such a doctrine.

Paul, as he does elsewhere in this catena of citations, disregards totally the context and the historical situation under which it was written. He believes that God meant more than the recording of "ethical instructions" applicable only to Israel. With this insight Paul sees in this passage a reference to the universal depravity of man and he uses it as well as the others in this catena, as a proof text for this doctrine.

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1. De Waard, p.6. M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, vol.I, plate XLVIII.
 2. The Scofield Reference Bible.

ROMANS 3:18THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT OF ROMANS 3:18

οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 36:1(36:2)

אֵין פֶּחַד אֱלֹהִים לִנְגַד עֵינָיו:

THE SEPTUAGINT B TEXT FOR PSALM 36:1(35:2)

οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ.

1. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

τῶν is omitted before ὀφθαλμῶν in Codex 208 of Soden's I^{cl} group of MSS.⁽¹⁶¹⁾¹ No other variants are listed by Tischendorf, Nestle, or Kilpatrick.

2. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

There are no textual variants in either the MT or the LXX except that Codex 55 has κῶριου for θεοῦ.² This text both in the NT and OT is more free from textual variants than any other citation of Paul in Romans thus far. Symmachus reads for this citation οὐ πρόκειται φόβος θεοῦ ἀντικρὺς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ.³ Scott believes that the note in the margin added by the revisors of the RV indicates their doubt. He feels also that **קח** of the first part of the verse (not in the citation) should read **עג**, pleasant, otherwise the verse is meaningless and corrupt because it personifies transgression, which is not done elsewhere in the OT.⁴ He seems to be in the minority here, though.

3. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Psalms 36:1 together with Psalms 8, 12, 14 and 37 form a group of psalms in which the psalmist describes the moral corruption of his own generation. Because of the wickedness of their own hearts the fear of God never occurs to them. The wicked have no sense of the holiness of God which inspires reverence toward God and revulsion against evil.⁵

4. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul follows the LXX except for the exchange of αὐτῶν for

1. Von Soden, Vol.II.

2. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10, Psalmi cum Odis.

3. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

4. Melville Scott, Textual Discoveries in Proverbs, Psalms, and Isaiah, London, S.P.C.K., 1927, p.115.

5. Liddon, p.68.

αἵ τοῦ . The LXX follows the Hebrew closely. Paul possibly changes αἵ τοῦ to αἵ τῶν in order to agree with the plural form of the other¹ quotations of this "charaz". Ellis believes that this citation is at variance with LXX and the Hebrew text where the two texts agree but that there is very little variance from the LXX.² Although Ellis' statement is just a brief statement of classification heading his appendix I (A), it seems a bit misleading for one could easily get the idea that the Hebrew and the LXX were in agreement only in the matter of αἵ τοῦ since this is the only place where the text of Romans 3:18 differs from the LXX. However, this is not the case; the LXX is a very close translation throughout this citation.³

5. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

Reference is made to Psalm 36:1 in the Talmud. I quote:

"The wicked are swayed by their evil inclination, as it says, 'Transgression speaketh to the wicked, me thinks, there is no fear of God before their eyes. Average people are swayed by both (good and evil) inclinations Rabah said: "People such as we are of the average." Said Abaye to him: "The master gives no one a chance to live!" Raba further said: "The world was created for either the totally wicked or the totally righteous. 'Rabah said: Let a man know concerning himself whether he is completely righteous or not'."4

The interpretation here seems to be that the average man, being swayed by both good and evil inclinations, has no chance to live. The last sentence of this quotation intimates that a man may be either completely evil or completely righteous, though to be the latter requires constant vigilance. If this is a correct interpretation of this passage, it is at variance with Paul's use of this

1. Toy, p.131.

2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

3. Toy, p.131.

4. The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth, p.385.

verse in this "charaz", for here he is seeking to establish that there is none righteous.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Psalm 36:1, like Psalm 10:7 and 140:3, refers to the wicked. The "wicked" say that there is no fear of God before their eyes. The natural inference is that not all are wicked. At any rate the reference is made only to the wicked of Israel or at most to the wicked of the people surrounding Israel. There is nothing in the context which would lead one to believe the psalmist had the universal depravity of man in mind.

Paul, though, sees in these words a reference to the universal sinfulness of man. He uses this as a proof text along with the other citations of this catena of Scripture. Yet, this citation along with all the other citations, except Psalm 14:1-3, in this catena, cannot possibly be made to "prove" the universality of sin. To do so Paul must "spiritualize" Scripture. He must have believed that God in leading the psalmist and Isaiah to record the evil they witnessed was citing these as but examples of all mankind. Paul in citing these verses does not mean to say that they refer to all mankind individually but that they have a universal application, and as Denney says he counts upon the human conscience for affirmation.¹ That is to say, he recognized the Psalms' limited application in terms of their OT context but at the same time felt justified in extending their scope to refer to the universal human situation.

This catena of quotations, each of which alludes specifically

1. Denney, EGT. p.606.

to the Sins of Israel, suited Paul's purpose most admirably in the light of his questions: "What advantage has the Jew (3:1); Are we Jews any better off? (3:9)" In other words, it is to the sinfulness of Jews (no less than of Greeks) that he specially desires to draw attention, and the citations, with their emphasis on the sins of Israel, help him to do this.

ROMANS 4:3THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 4:3

τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει;

ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT GENESIS 15:6

והאמן ביהוה ויחשבה לו צדקה:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR GENESIS 15:6

והימין במימרא דיי וחשבה ליה לזכר:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT A FOR GENESIS 15:6

καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLEL TEXTSGALATIANS 3:6

καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

JAMES 2:23

ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

1. A. Berliner, Targum Onkelos, Gorzelanczyk & Co., 1884.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the first time in Romans that Paul departs from the use of $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$ in his IF. This is not a favourite IF of Paul. He uses it once in this identical way in Romans 10:11 and twice he inverts the word order (Rom. 11:3; 9:17) with intervening words. Galatians 4:30 and I Timothy 5:18 also use a close approximation of this formula. Altogether there are six places where Paul uses $\eta\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ in some form as an IF. Paul prefers to use an indefinite IF. He does so at least forty-three times as against sixteen times for a definite IF citing the source.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

In the citation itself there are no textual variants listed by Nestle and Aland or Tischendorf. The η of the IF is omitted by Codex F* but retained by all other known texts.²

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Kittel suggests that וְהָאֵם be read according to Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:6; Jas. 2:23 וְיֵאֵם . The Old Latin, the Syrian Polyglot Version of Brian Walton, and the Latin Vulgate read בְּיֵהָרָה for בְּאֵלֵהִים .³

b. Septuagint Text

Philo, Paul's Epistle, The Catholic Epistles, Clement of Rome, Origen's extant Greek MSS, Eusebius in half of his references, Cyril

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1. cf. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.150f; also Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old. A Contribution to Biblical Introduction and Exegesis, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1872, pp. 316f.
 2. Tischendorf, vol.II.
 3. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica

once in two references, all read ἐπίστευσεν δέ instead of
καὶ ἐπίστευσεν .¹

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This citation is set in a passage in Genesis where the Lord appears to Abraham. In the ensuing conversation Abraham reminds God, that though He has promised him blessing, yet he has no heir. Whereupon God promises Abraham an heir born from his own loins and innumerable descendants. Abraham, though well on in years, believes God. This faith in God that He will perform His promise is counted to Abraham for righteousness.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul quotes almost verbatim from the LXX. He substitutes δέ for καὶ before ἐπίστευσεν but of course places the post-positive conjunction δέ (used here perhaps as a continuative particle: "Now Abraham believes God", etc.) after ἐπίστευσεν . The reading ἐπίστευσεν δέ is found in James 2:23, Galatians 3:6, and also in Philo,² I Clement (10:6) and Justin Martyr Dial. 92, so it was probably current and not introduced by Paul.³ In Galatians 3:6 Paul leaves out both δέ and καὶ . Of Romans 4:3 Meyer says: "Instead of the καὶ in the LXX, Paul, in order to put the ἐπίστευσεν with all weight in the foreground, has used δέ , which otherwise does not belong to the connection of our passage."⁴ Denney says that ἐπίστευσεν δέ "serves partly to bring out the contrast between the real mode of Abraham's justification, and the mode

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1. A.E. Brooke and Norman McLean, The Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge University Press, 1906, Vol. I, part I, p. 36.
 2. Thomas Mangey, Philonis Judei Opera, London, 1742, Vol. I, p. 605.
 3. Denney, EGT, p. 615. ^a
 4. Meyer, Vol. I, p. 196.

suggested in verse two, partly to give prominence to faith as that on which his argument turned."¹ Ἀβραάμ does not occur in the Hebrew, but does occur in the LXX. τῷ θεῷ is translated for ביהוה, which is usually translated κύριος in the LXX, but seems to be in accordance with the somewhat arbitrary interchange of the divine names here -- from a desire to give the greatest generalness of form to this important statement.² ἐλογίσθη represents the active ריחשבה which means, he reckoned it, not, it was reckoned to him, as in the LXX and Paul. The passive is either from a different Hebrew text or is a free rendering of the Hebrew.³ ἐλογίσθη is frequently used in the LXX⁴ with the legal sense of imputation, or non-imputation of guilt.⁵ The proper name Ἀβραάμ is inserted to relieve the indistinctness of the Hebrew text. The proper name may have stood in the text used by the translators of the LXX. Paul uses the full covenant name Ἀβραάμ rather than the Ἀβράμ of the LXX.⁶

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Midrash

Beshellach connects Genesis 15:6 with Hab. 2:4 and indicates that the faith of Abraham is the merit of Israel and is the source of Israel's song of praise.⁷ Abraham's faith as it is transmitted through Isaac to Israel is basic for the Exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt.⁸

Lech Lecha renders the last part of this citation from Genesis

1. Denney, ECT, p.615.

2. Toy, p.132.

3. Ibid.

4. cf. Lev. 7:8; 17:4; Mal. 3:16; Ps. 56:8; Isa. 65:6.

5. Sanday and Headlam, p.100.

6. Toy, p.132.

7. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, p.284.

8. Ibid, Song of Solomon, p.208.

15:6, "and he (Abraham) counted it to himself for kindness, "and explains, "although this 'koh' was pure justice, Abraham counted it as mercy."¹

Modern Hebrew scholars give the interpretation of this citation much the same meaning. The meaning here for the modern Jew is that of "trustful surrender to the loving will and wisdom of God is the proof, as it is the basis of true religion. Such spiritual faithfulness is a great spiritual virtue and cannot be found where there is unrighteousness."² This implies that faith is meritorious. Faith is the "basis of true religion"; it is a "great spiritual virtue."

b. New Testament Parallels

1. Galatians 3:6

In the citation here Paul omits the $\delta\epsilon$ of Romans 4:3 and the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ of the LXX and substitutes instead $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma$ used in the comparative sense, even as, or, just. Otherwise it follows the LXX verbatim. Paul's argumentation here is virtually the same as in Romans 4:3. Faith is in opposition to works. Justification and salvation are connected, not with man's personal righteousness, but with that faith in Jesus Christ which brings the believer into personal relation to God.³

2. James 2:23

James cites Genesis 15:6 out of context, for he connects it with the sacrifice of Isaac which is related in Genesis 22:9. Paul cites it in the context of the promise of an heir to Abraham in Genesis 15:-

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1. The Zohar, Lech Lecha, translated by H. Sperling and M. Simon, London, The Soncino Press, 1949, vol.I, p.279.
 2. Pentateuch and Haftorah, edited by J.H. Hertz, London, Oxford University Press, 1929, vol.I, p.136.
 3. Toy, p.133.

There is dispute as to who cited Genesis 15:6 first, James or Paul. Dale thinks that James wrote first and that Paul in Romans 4:3 is seeking to correct the misinterpretation of James.¹ Bo Reicke believes that there is no criticism of Paul's teaching by James in this passage. Although "it is possible that James has in mind a current misinterpretation of the Pauline position of this question."² Ellis thinks there is no borrowing of the one from the other for "their applications of the verse are quite distinct." It is used by James and Paul probably because of "its importance in general Apostolic tradition." Ellis implies that Paul wrote first for he says it is "very likely Paul who originally gave it (the doctrine of justification by faith) importance."³ Mitton believes that James, while not consciously writing to correct misconceptions arising from Paul's

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1. R.W. Dale, The Epistle of James, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1895, p.75. Dale gives no reason himself for his conclusion but refers to J.B. Mayor as stating "decisive reasons for believing that James wrote first." Mayor's argument is, that: (1) Had the Epistle of James been written first, then Paul would have given a rebuttal of it at the council at Jerusalem (Acts 15). (2) The Judaizers would have used it to support their attack on Paul's teaching. (3) There is much less likelihood of "Paul's Epistle, addressed to distant Churches, and dealing so much with personal questions, being brought under the notice of James." By these remarks Mayor seems to imply that neither the Epistle of James nor Romans had been published before the Jerusalem Conference of Acts 15. But he goes on to indicate the priority of the Epistle of James by suggesting that: (4) Paul "writes with constant reference to St. James." He challenges the phrase of St. James ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστίν, νεκρά ἐστίν by direct contradiction, λογίζομεθα γὰρ δικαιώσθαι πίστει ἀνθρώπου χωρὶς ἔργον νόμου James asks, Ἀβραάμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη; ; Paul replies εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει κατήχημα, but this, Paul shows is inconsistent with the phrase "reckoned for righteousness." (5) "If James was really opposed to Paul and desired to maintain that man was saved, not by grace, but by obedience to the Law of Moses, which was incumbent alike upon Gentile and on Jew, why has he never uttered a syllable on the subject, but confined himself to the task of proving that a faith which bears no fruits is a dead faith?" J.B. Mayor, The Epistle of St. James, Macmillan & Co., London, 1892, pp.LXXVII-XCL. (Note—Some scholars do not accept Dale as an authority for
 2. Bo Reicke, The Anchor Bible, The Epistle of James, Peter and Jude. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday & Co., pp.34, 196.
 3. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.93-94. the relation of James and Paul).

teaching, may be addressing antinomians who may have been influenced by Paul's teaching.¹

However this may be, James is simply expressing his concern that the faith of Christians be not understood as an antinomian formula of salvation, and that this faith be not isolated from the wider area of Christian life and practice. Faith must be accompanied by acts in life so that they will complement and enrich each other. While James appears to contradict Paul's teaching on justification by faith, this is not actually the case. James is concerned with justification as well as Paul, but he views justification in the light of the last judgment, whereas Paul views faith in connection with conversion.² James views faith from the standpoint of practical demonstration. Faith if real results in a morally good life, a life of good works, which will abide the last judgment. Paul has in mind that faith which is the response of man to God and which results in justification of the sinner by God wholly on the basis of faith in Christ, completely apart from any works man may perform. Paul is concerned with the faith involved in the initial act of justification. James is concerned with the faith which demonstrates the fact of justification in the daily life of the believer. Thus, in the words of Ellis mentioned above, Paul's and James' "applications of the verse are quite distinct."

c. Post-Apostolic Fathers

Both Clement of Rome (10:6) and Barnabas (13:7) refer to Genesis 15:6 and apparently cite it in reference to justification by faith in agreement with Paul. Clement of Rome cites the LXX verbatim

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1. C.L. Mitton, The Epistle of James, Edinburgh, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1966, p.104.
 2. Reicke, p.34.

while Barnabas does not, Barnabas asks, "What then saith he to Abraham when he alone believed, and it was ascribed for righteousness?"¹

In Barnabas' mind the OT passages have become conflated with the contents of Romans 4:3f., for the phrase τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀποβουρίας especially as modifying ἐθνῶν in Barnabas is difficult to explain otherwise.²

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

As mentioned above Paul's citation comes in the context of God's announcing to Abraham that he was to have an heir and through him a progeny as numerous as the stars of heaven. Abraham simply believed God and God counted his faith as righteousness. It seems significant that this statement is made, not after Abraham had done some act which indicated the reality of his faith, but it comes after the simple statement that Abraham believed God.

The problem arises as to what "it was counted to him for righteousness", means. The Jews commonly interpreted this verse as teaching that Abraham's faith was meritorious. Faith was thought of as earning something.³ Toy says that "not only obedience but also trust is a righteous act."⁴ This concept, coming early in the history of God's dealings with man is "an advance on the idea that the goodness approved by God consists wholly of outward acts."⁵ Toy goes on to say "it is a righteous thing to trust God; there is no opposition between faith and works (that is, in the mind of Abraham

1. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.10, 61, 259, 282, 70.

2. A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905 p.3.

3. D.E.H. Whiteley, The Theology of St. Paul, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1964, p.163.

4. Toy, p.133.

5. Ibid.

or at least the author of this passage), but faith is itself a work that God counts as righteous."¹ To this Stuart agrees. After analysing the Hebrew and Greek words involved here, Stuart says:

"The gravity then of Abraham's justification cannot be made out ... merely from the mode of expression here employed. This decides no more than that God reckoned Abraham's faith as righteousness or a righteous act ... it is imputed to him because it belongs to him, and therefore the imputation or reckoning to him accords with reality."²

He goes on to say that Abraham's justification was a "gratuitous justification" but this is arrived at only through a process of reasoning, not from the words themselves or from the context. Burton points out that neither the usage of *δικαιοσύνη* nor that of *λογίζεται εἰς* is decisive between the two meanings: (1) "it was attributed to him as right conduct", and (2) "it was reckoned to him as a ground of acceptance." He says that the general context of Gal. 3:6 which deals "with righteousness in the forensic aspect, acceptance with God, decides for the latter meaning." Since Paul uses the citation in much the same way here in Romans 4:3 his conclusion seems valid for Romans 4:3 as well.³ Most commentators do not involve themselves with the meaning intended by the writer of Genesis 15:6. However, it is apparent that the most that can be drawn from the text itself is that Abraham's faith was counted for a righteous act. The text does not indicate whether the "counting" or "imputing" was on the basis of merit as the Jews took and still take it, or that it was gratuitous as Paul took it.

The difference between Paul and his opponents in the interpretation of this verse, then, was largely one of intellectual framework.

1. Toy, pp.133-34.

2. Stuart, pp.124-5. See also Barnes, pp.94-5 for a similar treatment.

3. E. De Witt Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, 1964, pp.153-55.

For the Jews understood this verse from the standpoint of the calculation of merits and demerits.¹ If the total of merits was greater than the total demerits one was solvent before God. This verse could therefore be paraphrased "Abraham believed; the merit of his belief was credited to his account, and led to his being declared solvent."²

Whiteley goes on to use what seems to be a very helpful illustration to show the distinction between "was counted for" and "was counted as." He says if a man decides to visit a friend by walking to his house, then changes his mind and decides to ride his bicycle to his friend's house, then, in this case, bicycling would equal "was counted for" because it was an act of a similar kind and would take the place of walking. But if he decided to do his visiting by telephone this would not be taking the place of walking in the same sense as bicycling. Walking and bicycling are two separate aspects of the genus, locomotion, while telephoning is a different genus, communication. "The upshot of this illustration is that faith is not 'another kind of work' which is a species of the same genus and operates in the same way; faith and works do not belong to the same genus at all."³ While his conclusion may be valid from the standpoint of the NT text it is not from the standpoint of the OT text. Stuart shows clearly that λογίζομαι εἰς and λογίζομαι ὡς or ὥσπερ are used by the LXX to translate השב לר which is the form used in the Hebrew text of Paul's citation and the LXX. Therefore it can be translated either "counted for" or "counted as".⁴ This seems to nullify Whiteley's argument as far as the OT text is concerned.

λογίζομαι is used in Greek writers frequently and in a variety of

1. Leénhardt, note, p.115.

2. Whiteley, pp.163-4.

3. Ibid, p.164.

4. Stuart, p.124.

applications of the general meaning of, to reckon, to calculate, to deem, to consider. To reckon a thing or person to be this or that or to account a thing as having a certain value, is expressed as in the LXX, which translates the Hebrew לֵךְ לְךָ by λογίζεσθαι εἰς. The examples show that this form of expression may have either of the above meanings, that is, "to think (one) to be this or that" or "to count (one) as having the value of this or that." For the first meaning compare I Sam. 1:13 and Rom. 9:8. For the latter meaning see Acts 19:27 and Rom. 2:26. This seems to be the meaning for Rom. 4:3 as well.¹

Paul denies that Abraham's faith was meritorious. He denies the very premise on which this conclusion rests. Abraham's righteousness was not by the Law for it was before the giving of the Law. It was not of the nature of works for works involved the keeping of the Law in outward legalistic acts. It consisted of just simply "believing in God". While faith is a mental act it is not an outward legalistic requirement of the Law. Paul

"adduces confirmation that human merit is not envisaged in Genesis 15:6 by applying a Rabbinic principle, the second of Hillel's canons of interpretation, whereby when the same word occurs in two passages each can be used to explain the other."²

In fact Romans 4 is a running commentary or Midrash upon Genesis 15:6.³ Here Paul is aware of the historical context and because of a deeper insight into "righteousness" he sees that faith is not just a meritorious act but that faith is imputed for, or as, righteousness - that righteousness needed by everyman for acceptance before God. Faith is the instrument by means of which God can impute a righteousness, from and acceptable to Him, to all who believe.

1. Burton, pp.153-55.

2. Allen, p.19.

3. Ibid, see also Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.117.

Therefore we may conclude that as far as the OT is concerned the OT text does not make it clear whether the "faith counted for righteousness" was "faith counted as a meritorious act" or "faith that was imputed as that righteousness which is required by and acceptable to God." We may further conclude that Paul interprets it as clear proof of the latter, that Abraham was justified by simple faith alone completely apart from any works required by the Law. To say, as the Jews do, that Abraham kept all the precepts of the Law that was later given and so was righteous, seems to be begging the question and is based upon an undue veneration for the Law, not upon Scripture.

ROMANS 4:7-8THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 4:7-8

καθάπερ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει

μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσσεται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 32:1-2

אשרי נשוי פשע כסרי חטא אשרי

אדם לא יחשב יהוה לו עון

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 32:1-2(31:1-2)

μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσσεται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

The IF καθάπερ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει is used only here in the NT. A formula very similar is found in Acts 2:25: Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει. Also the formula in Luke 20:42 is similar but more definite. It reads, αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βιβλίῳ Ψαλμῶν. There are other formulas in which David is mentioned as a writer of sacred Scripture through which God speaks. However, always, as here, there follows a quotation from the Psalms.¹ Turpie is careful to point out that even though this is true, it does not indicate that David is the author of all the Psalms.² David is quoted by name definitely nine times in the NT.³ In every case the reference to David is a reference to the Psalms. Thus, in the NT six Psalms are referred to with an IF which definitely attributes them to David and two of these six references to David are made by Paul here in Romans.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The only textual variant other than the divergent spelling of ἀφέθου in verse seven is the reading of ὦ for οὖ by Codices A, C, the Koine texts, and most witnesses, Westcott and Hort's marginal reading.⁴ The οὖ of the text is supported by codices B, X*, D*, E, G, and 67. The authorities for ὦ are superior, they combine the oldest and best representative evidence of the Alexandrian and Western families of texts B, X, and D; it is more probable that οὖ has been assimilated to the construction of λογιζέσθαι in verses 3-6 than that ὦ... has been assimilated to

1. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, p.334.

2. Ibid.

3. cf. Mt. 22:43 (Ps. 110:1); Mk. 12:36 (Ps. 110:1); Lk. 20:42 (Ps. 110:1); Acts 2:25 (Ps. 16:8-11); 2:34 (Ps. 110:1); 4:25 (Ps. 2:1,2); Rom. 4:6 (Ps. 32:1-2), 11:9 (Ps. 69:22,23); Heb. 4:7 (Ps. 45:7-8).

4. Nestle and Aland.

the preceding $\tilde{\omega}$ or to the OT, or that it has been affected by the following euphonious reading.¹

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

In verse two Kittel indicates that the LXX probably added בפיר before ברוח . However, this part of the verse is not included in Paul's citation.

b. Septuagint Text

$\alpha\phi\epsilon\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ is supported by codices B, A, R, 2013, 1219, 55, 1220, Lucian and Theodoret. There are some other variant spellings but they are poorly supported. $\omega\tilde{\upsilon}$ of verse two, is supported by \aleph^* A, B, U, R, and the Sahidic, ϕ is read only by Lucian and Codex 1219.²

Aquila reads $\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \delta \eta\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. Symmachus reads $\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \omega\tilde{\upsilon} \acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta \eta \acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$. Eusebius has $\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \omega\tilde{\upsilon} \acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu \alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota$. Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and Eusebius read $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha\nu$.³ It is interesting to note the difference in the meaning of these two words. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha$ means literally, not to hit, or, to miss. It is found with this concrete meaning since Homer. It is also used metaphorically in the sense of intellectual shortcoming and in the absolute sense of error. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha$ is used 238 times to translate the Hebrew word תָּטַח (used in our citation and 289 times in the OT) which means missing the right point. However, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha\nu$ here is not the translation of תָּטַח but of עָרַב . עָרַב is translated by $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha$ 70 of 227 times it is found in the OT. Its basic secular meaning is to bend. It has strong religious emphasis and the thought of guilt

1. Sanday & Headlam, p.102.

2. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, vol.10, Psalmi cum Odis.

3. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, vol.II.

is forcefully asserted.¹ While ἀνομίαν is the alpha privative prefix ἀ plus νόμος which means lawlessness either as a frame of mind or as a lawless deed,² it has two shades of meaning. It either suggests "there is no law" or "without a law" or the word means "against the law" with an implied judgment since it is assumed that there is a binding law. ἀνομία is common in the LXX though there is no fixed Hebrew equivalent. It is the translation of יָנַח (60 times) and יָנַח (25 times). In the LXX it has all the meanings mentioned above.³ It is very closely related to ἀδικία.⁴ μακάριος, it is interesting to note, is the strongest word in the Greek language to express a state of joy or felicity.⁵

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This citation comes from another Davidic psalm of praise to God. It is set in a context of God's pressure being applied until sin is confessed and then His mercy and forgiveness results in joy and blessedness. Some writers feel that this is reference here by David to his great sin.⁶

This passage in Psalm 32:1-2 is very interesting. It uses three Hebrew words to describe sin and three words to describe God's dealing with sin. יָנַח (ἀνομίαν), may be considered as a breaking loose from God. חָטָא (ἁμαρτία) as a deviation from God's will, a missing of the mark. יָנַח (ἁμαρτία) means perversity, misconduct, etc. God deals with these conditions by קָנָה (ἀφέθην) a lifting up and taking away of sin; by כָּסָה (ἐπεκαλύφθησαν)

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1. Gerhard Kittel, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, translated and edited by G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Mich., W.B. Eerdmans, 1964), Vol.I, pp.268f.
 2. W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.
 3. Gerhard Kittel, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.
 4. J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1949), p.45.
 5. Sanday and Headlam, p.102.
 6. Liddon, p.86.

covering the sin so as to render it invisible to Himself; and by

כחן לו (מִן לֹא לֹא) not reckoning sin to the sinner.¹

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul follows the LXX in the second verbatim quotation found in Romans. The וְנָח is exclamatory: "Oh the blessedness of"; the μακάριοι is more of an assertion.² The aorist of ἀφέθησαν and ἐπεκαλύφθησαν indicate completeness of forgiveness and the οὐ μὴ λογίζεται indicates that it is without precise definition. The double negative indicates certainty as "he certainly will not impute."³ The LXX is a close translation of the Hebrew.⁴

6. QUOTATION FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Post-Apostolic Fathers

Clement of Rome in his letter to the Corinthians cites these verses of Psalm 32:1-2 verbatim in accordance with the LXX. He includes the last clause of verse two while Paul omits it. He indicates that keeping the commandments in love is a reason for God to forgive man and not impute sin to him whom He has elected in Christ.⁵

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THIS OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

In this Psalm, David, perhaps has his great sin in mind⁶ when he speaks of the blessedness of him whose transgression is forgiven. In verses three and four of the Psalm he indicates that he had been under deep conviction of sin. So in verse one and two he speaks out

1. Liddon, p.86.

2. Lenski, p.296.

3. A.T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament.

4. Sanday & Headlam, p.102.

5. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.32, 78.

6. Liddon, p.86.

of deep emotional experience, his sins are forgiven, covered, no doubt through sin-offerings he had offered. This brought real joy and peace because it meant that his sin was no longer reckoned or held against him. Because of the depth of his sin and the sincerity of his repentance, his happiness, in knowing his sins forgiven, covered from the eyes of God who no longer reckoned them to his account, knew no bounds. It is hard to believe that David had anything more than this in mind when he wrote these verses. Alford agrees with this interpretation for he says, "The Psalm, strictly speaking, says nothing of the imputation of righteousness"¹ David was not a precocious theologian who was attempting to set forth an incipient doctrine of justification by faith. "It is not, indeed, a positive righteousness without works that is meant: it is God's mercy shown in pardoning the sin of the repentant righteous man."²

Yet, in so far as David's sin is no longer held against him, he is counted as a righteous man, not by any meritorious act of his own but by the grace and mercy of God.³ The conclusion to be deduced from these verses is that the "counting of righteousness" is equivalent to the "not counting of sin". Thus Paul makes it clear that justification, or the counting of one being righteous, is neither the just evaluation of human merit nor the importing of virtue, but the forgiveness of sin.⁴ This is the sense which Paul understood this verse. At first glance there seems to be disparity between Paul's statement that "God imputes righteousness without works" (v.6) and the import of the citation from Psalm 32:1-2. The citation mentions neither righteousness nor works but speaks of the opposite, of sins

1. Alford, vol.II, p.348.

2. Toy, p.134.

3. Ibid.

4. Barrett, p.89.

being covered, of transgression being forgiven and of iniquities not being imputed. For the psalmist it is the forgiven man that is happy.¹ But to forgive clearly implies "without works", though perhaps not without the offering of a sin-offering. "Covered" implies the presence of sin at the moment grace is extended and sin is cancelled.² The citation, which Paul uses to bolster his argument from Abraham that salvation is by faith and not by works, "is a negative way of expressing the reckoning of righteousness."³ There is a formal link between Psalm 32:1-3 which is quoted in verses seven and eight and Genesis 15:6 quoted in verse three, the verb "to impute" is common to both passages. In Rabbinical exegesis such a link was used to interpret one passage by the other by the principle called Gezerah Shawah ("equal category"). Paul uses the principle here, but the link is not merely formal, for the non-imputation of sin in which the psalmist rejoices amounts to the positive imputation of righteousness.⁴ The three expressions of the citation "forgiven", "covered", "imputed not" do not convey all that is involved in justification, but they imply that these things come about gratuitously. This whole idea well supports Paul's thesis that salvation is by faith. "To cover sins and impute not iniquity, means to pardon sin and to treat with favor; and this is substantially the same thing which is designated by counting faith for righteousness, both forms of expression denote gratuitous acceptance with God."⁵ The psalmist declares that he whose sin is forgiven, covered,

1. Leenhardt, p.116.

2. J.M. Stifler, The Epistle to the Romans, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1897, pp.72-73.

3. Vine, p.65.

4. F.F. Bruce, The Epistle of Paul to The Romans, The Tyndale Press, London, 1963, pp.117-18.

5. Stuart, p.130.

not imputed, is the truly blessed man. Paul is saying that all are sinners and all need gratuitous forgiveness. David is in agreement with Abraham, he does not say his works have merited him salvation but that his sins have been forgiven, covered, and not reckoned to his account. David did not conceive of salvation as being based on good works. For David the epitome of divine favor was the gratuitous forgiveness of sins and the gracious non-reckoning of iniquity to his account. This citation contains no indication of salvation by works, and so it is relevant and pertinent to Paul's argument.¹

It is easy to see Paul's intent here. He first refers to Abraham because:

"Abraham was the great progenitor of their race, whom they proudly called their father and on whom their own Scriptures had bestowed the peculiar honor of being styled 'the friend of God'. David was their mighty king, the most distinguished ancestor and type of the Messiah, the man after God's own heart. If these two most renowned of their ancestors, who had so much to glory of, renounced all pretence of merit by works, and were justified before God solely by faith, what higher confirmation of the apostle's doctrine could be needed? Surely they could not claim to surpass these worthies in merit nor hope to succeed where these have failed."²

This seems to sum up quite well Paul's purpose both in citing Genesis 15:6 and Psalm 32:1-2.

In quoting this passage Paul makes no attempt to tie these verses in with David's great sin, and his subsequent repentance, or with any other historical event in the life of David. Though it is improbable that Plummer³ is right in saying that "the doctrine of

1. Murray, vol.I, p.134.

2. Arnold and Ford, p.107.

3. Plummer, p.162.

gratuitous justification by imputed righteousness was understood and devoutly celebrated by the great poet and prophet David", Paul saw deeper and with true insight saw that David's words were tantamount to such a doctrine.

ROMANS 4:17THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 4:17

καθὼς γέγραπται

ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἔθνων τέθεικά σε.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR GENESIS 17:5

כי אב המון גרים נתתיך

THE TARGUM¹ FOR GENESIS 17:5

א'ר'י

אב סגי עממין יהבתך

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT A FOR GENESIS 17:5

ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἔθνων τέθεικά σε.

1. Berliner, p.15.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Again Paul uses his favourite IF. This is the fifth time he has used it to refer to the OT in Romans thus far. He uses it sixteen times in Romans altogether to introduce twenty-five quotations of Scripture.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The text here is remarkably free of variants. Tischendorf indicates that Codex 37(69) inverts πατέρα πολλῶν ; that K, L, and a few others read τέθηκα for τέθεικα .² There is some disagreement as to the punctuation of verses sixteen and seventeen. Westcott and Hort place a comma after σπέρματι , a parenthesis before ὅς , a comma before καθὼς , and a parenthesis after σε enclosing it in with the parenthesis before ὅς . The Textus Receptus, A.V., R.V., A.S.V., (UBS) Zur. place commas after σπέρματι and Ἀβραάμ and enclose καθὼς...σε in parentheses. The R.S.V. places a dash after σπέρματι , commas after Ἀβραάμ and ἡμῶν , and another dash before κατέναντι . Nestle, BF (NEB) (Seg.) place commas in each place.³ The form of punctuation followed by the Textus Receptus makes for a smoother rendering of this passage. The clause ὅς.....ἡμῶν is a needed explanation of the relation that obtains between Abraham and every believer while the explanatory clause καθὼς.....σε may be omitted without altering the development of the thought of this paragraph. This is also the punctuation followed by the modern Greek versions.

1. Turpie, New Testament View of the Old, p.340.

2. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

3. UBS, The Greek New Testament, p.539.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

This citation as it occurs in the OT is remarkably free of textual variants.¹

b. Septuagint Text

Very few variants occur in the LXX as well, and those that do occur are of a minor nature. Cursive MSS q has the contraction $\pi\tilde{\eta}\rho$ which stands for $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ instead of $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$. The Armenian Zohrab Version has $\theta\acute{\eta}\omega$ for $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ~~in final position~~.²

המון means multitude and therefore is a stronger word than πολλῶν of the LXX. Abraham was to be the father of a multitude of nations not just "many". The word גוֹיִם is used in the OT of Gentile nations as well as the Jewish tribes and here, therefore, it includes Gentile nations as well as the twelve tribes of Israel.³ The Hebrew נתתיך , I have given thee, is rendered $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\epsilon$, I have placed thee, which is in accordance with the usual practice of rendering נתן by $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\mu\iota$.⁴

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This promise to make Abram the father of a multitude of nations was given in connection with the establishment of covenant relationship between God and Abram and his posterity. The significant change of his name from Abram to Abraham and the introduction of the rite of circumcision were both meant to be a constant reminder to Abraham and to his descendants of their covenant relationship with God.

1. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

2. Brooke and McLean, vol. I, part I Genesis.

3. Barrett, p. 96.

4. Turpie, The Old Testament in the New, p. 7.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

For the third time in Romans Paul cites verbatim from the LXX,¹ which in turn closely follows the Hebrew.²

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Post Apostolic Fathers

Gen. 17:5 is cited in the Epistle of Barnabas 13:7, with some changes from the LXX and from Romans 4:17. In this reference God is said to reward Abraham's faith with this promise that he will be the father of a multitude of nations.³ This passage in 17:5 seems to be conflated with Genesis 15:6 and the citation in Romans 4:3 and 7.⁴

b. Midrash

Though Genesis 17:5 is referred to several times in Midrash Rabbah the interpretation is so far removed from the context that it is not helpful for this study.⁵ In the Talmud Abraham is said to have become in the end "the father of the whole world."⁶

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The context of Genesis 17:5 indicates that the verse refers primarily to a physical fulfilment. The following verse unmistakably refers to the physical descendants of Abraham. There is nothing in the context that would lead one to interpret verse five any differently from verse six. Toy says: "The original passage points to the fact, that from Abraham should descend other nations than Is-

1. Herman Olshausen, p.169, with other writers.

2. Toy, p.135.

3. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.259, 282.

4. The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, pp. 3-4.

5. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, pp.393f, 399, 422, 425, Ecclesiastes, p.134.

6. The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth, p.73. In Shabbath (p.505) there is another reference to Genesis 17:5 but it is not helpful for this study.

rael, namely, the Ishmaelites, Edomites, etc. (Gen. 25:1-4)."¹ With this Stuart seems to agree (though holding that Paul interpreted it in a spiritual sense): "There is a question whether the original in Genesis 17:5 means anything more than that the literal posterity of Abraham should be very numerous. Tholuck and many commentators so construe it."² This is perhaps the Rabbinic understanding of the citation although their references to this verse are so very arbitrary that it is difficult to tell. It might be argued that there was a Rabbinic element which gave it a spiritual interpretation for in Berakoth³ reference is made to Abraham as "the father of the whole world." This could not be understood even by the Rabbis in a physical sense. But it is impossible to determine just what the writer in Berakoth had in mind by his reference to Abraham as "the father of the whole world" for the context of this statement, as contexts are almost everywhere in the Midrash and the Talmud, is brief and quickly changing. Therefore we conclude that the writer of Genesis 17:5 could only have reference to the physical descendants of Abraham.

Paul on the other hand sees in this citation a reference to the spiritual descendants of Abraham. He gives no time to the interpretation of the citation from the standpoint of the physical descendants of Abraham except to show that this is not the important thing to consider. The argument runs something like this. The promise that Abraham should be the father of innumerable offspring was given to him on account of his faith, which chronologically was given before the covenant of circumcision. And just as important for

1. Toy, p.135.

2. As cited by Stuart, p.138.

3. The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth, p.73.

the Jew, it was not given to the Israelites through the Law of Moses, but was given to Abraham some four hundred years earlier. The Law, given later, cannot possibly have been given to establish the promise, for he has shown in chapter two that Jew and Gentile alike are sinners and without excuse before God and further he has shown in 4:14,15 that none can perfectly obey the Law and so none by the Law can be heirs of the promise. Thus it is evident that the promise of heirs to Abraham was made in answer to his faith and not on the impossible grounds of perfect legal righteousness. Paul's conclusion is that the promise was given to Abraham because of his faith before circumcision and the Law so that those who have faith, either Jew or Gentile, should be his spiritual descendants. It is those who have faith in God, like Abraham, that are the true descendants of Abraham.¹ The physical descendants of Abraham all stand in need of this faith to be saved just as do the Gentiles. Thus Paul follows here, as in each case so far in Romans, the Rabbinic notion that God, as the author of Scripture had more in mind than either the participants in the event or the writer of Scripture itself were aware of.

1. Franklin Johnson, The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old Considered in the Light of General Literature, Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Soc., 1896, pp.252-3.

ROMANS 4:18THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 4:18

(πατέρα πολλῶν ἔθνων) κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον,
οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR GENESIS 15:5

כה יהיה זרעך

THE TARGUM¹ FOR GENESIS 15:5

(ואמר ליה) כדין יחון

בנך

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT A FOR GENESIS 15:5

οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου.

1. Berliner, p.14.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the first time this IF has been used by Paul in his letter to the Romans and it is the only place in the NT where it is so used.⁸ The perfect participle (εἰρημένον) is used twice in Acts¹ but not with κατά as here. The verb form is used three times in Romans.² The author of Hebrews prefers the verb form of εἰρημένον over against γέγραπται, Paul's favourite introductory word. The author of Hebrews uses the verb six times³ but fails to use γέγραπται at all.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

At the end of the verse after τὸ σπέρμα σου Codex G and a few other MSS have added ὡς οἱ ἰστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης to the text.⁴ Meyer adds that Codex F and several Fathers as well as the Vulgate have this gloss commenting that only the first part is a proper gloss since it is found in the text of Genesis 15:5 but the τῆν ἄμμον κ.τ.λ. is not, because it is imported from Genesis 12:16.⁵ Codex K and the Syriac Peshitta version read γεγραμμένον for εἰρημένον.⁶

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

In the LXX οὕτως is read before καὶ εἶπεν in cursive MS d. ἔστιν is read ἔστω in Codex L. τὸ σπέρμα is read τῷ σπέρματι in Codex f and σπέρμα without the article τό in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus 656.⁷

1. cf. Acts 2:16 and 13:40.

2. Romans 9:12, 25, 29.

3. cf. Hebrews 1:13; 4:3,4,7; 10:15; 13:5.

4. Nestle and Aland.

5. Meyer, Vol.I, p.214.

6. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

7. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part I, Genesis.

8. Correction - κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον is used as an IF in Luke 2:24 as well.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This verse is set in the same context as the citation in Romans 4:3.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

This is the fourth instance of a verbatim citation from the LXX and the LXX here is a faithful translation of the Hebrew.¹

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Midrash

Abraham is said to have determined that Sarah was to be childless by observing his planet. Because of this God leads him out and shows him all the stars in order to show him the numberlessness of his seed.²

"R. Judah b.R. Simon citing R. Harim said, "God raised Abraham above the vault of the heavens and from that very planet which showed you that you were not destined to have any progeny I will prove to you that you will have progeny."³

In another place all Abraham's progeny is thought to be righteous like him for "He said to him so shall thy seed be."⁴ This is a fanciful interpretation which adds to the content of the verse and seems to be crudely literal or perhaps allegorical.

b. Post-Apostolic Fathers

Clement of Rome quotes both Genesis 15:5 and 6 almost verbatim from the LXX.⁵ He omits δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω and substitutes ὁ Θεός . He changes πρὸς αὐτὸν to αὐτῷ and omits δὴ after ἀνάβλεψον . He reads δυνήσῃ for δύνῃ and omits καὶ εἶπεν before the

1. Toy, p.135.

2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, p.454 and others.

3. Ibid., Numbers, p.42.

4. Ibid., p.44.

5. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.10,61.

οὕτως which begins Paul's citation. In verse six he omits the initial καὶ and adds δὲ before Ἀβραάμ which he reads in both verse five and six as Ἀβραάμ. Such changes may easily be explained as changes needed to adapt the citation to Clement's context or substitution due to a faulty memory. Clement gives these verses a literal and historical interpretation.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THIS OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Paul's interpretation of this citation is identical with that of the preceding citation in Romans 4:17.

ROMANS 7:7THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 7:7

ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν ,

οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις .

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR EXODUS 20:17

לא תחמד

TARGUM¹ OF ONKELOS FOR EXODUS 20:17 (14)

לא תחמיד

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR EXODUS 20:17

οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.

1. Berliner, p.83.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR DEUTERONOMY 5:21

ולא תחמד

TARGUM¹ FOR DEUTERONOMY 5:21

ולא תחמיד

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR DEUTERONOMY 5:21

οὐκ ἐπιθυμῆσεις

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLEL PASSAGEROMANS 13:9

οὐκ ἐπιθυμῆσεις

1. Berliner, p.202.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the first time Paul uses this IF in Romans. The quotation is taken from the beginning of the tenth commandment of Exodus 20:17 which is an account of the giving of the Law of the Ten Commandments from Mt. Sinai so ὁ νόμος refers here to the Law in the form of the Ten Commandments¹ uttered from Mt. Sinai in the hearing of the whole nation.² While νόμος is used elsewhere in IFs,³ it is used only here to refer to the Ten Commandments and this precise formula is used nowhere else in the NT.⁴

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Tischendorf lists Codex L as reading λόγος for νόμος, otherwise there is only a minor variant spelling of ἐπιθυμίας in Codices K and P.⁵

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no textual variants for Exodus 20:17 but for Deut.

5:21 the Samaritan Pentateuch reads תִּתִּי for תִּתֶּנָּה.⁶

1. The use of νόμος in Paul is not completely uniform. He sometimes uses the term when he does not have the OT Law in view (Rom. 3:27; 7:21,25; 8:2; Gal. 6:2). His starting point is the traditional use of νόμος for the OT תּוֹרָה. In most instances in Rabbinic understanding νόμος is the equivalent of תּוֹרָה which meant for the Rabbis primarily the Mosaic Law. With Paul as with the Rabbinic usage the gist of the νόμος could be stated in the Decalogue (Romans 13:8f; 2:20f; 7:7). In Paul, however, no basic distinction is made between the Decalogue and the rest of the legal material in the OT (Romans 7:2). In Paul νόμος is supremely that which demands action from man, a specific will. Hence one "does" the Law (Rom. 2:25; Gal. 5:3; 6:3). There are ἔργα νόμου demanded by the Law (Rom. 3:28). Only along these lines is there any point to the question of Rom. 7:7. Cf. Gerhard Kittel, Theological Dictionary, vol.IV, pp.1054, 1069. See also H.J. Schoeps, p.170.
2. Turpie, New Testament View of the Old, pp.120, 121.
3. cf. Luke 2:23,24; John 8:17; 10:34; 15:25; I Cor. 9:9; 14:21; Gal. 5:14.
4. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.156-185. See also Turpie, New Testament View of the Old, pp.308-344.
5. Tischendorf, vol.II.
6. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

b. Septuagint Text

There are no textual variants in the LXX text of Exodus 20:17. Paul's citation begins the verse but the Armenian and Syriac Hexapla versions both place this citation as the third phrase of the sentence, coming after τὸν ἀγγέλον αὐτῶν.¹ The LXX reverses the order of the Hebrew for the first two phrases of Exodus 20:17 making it read after the order of Deut. 5:21.² There are no textual variants for the words of our citation in Deut. 5:21 except for a variation which occurs only in the Ethiopic version.³

The future ἐπιθυμήσεις is used to translate תחמד in conformity with the practice of using the future indicative to translate the categorical injunctions and prohibitions in the legal language of the OT.⁴ In Greek the future used as an imperative was considered milder than the imperative. In Hebrew, though, it was the decisive language of legislation.⁵

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The context of the Exodus 20:17 passage is that of the giving of the Law of the Ten Commandments initially to Moses on Mt. Sinai. The context of Deut. 5:21 is that of Moses teaching the Law of the Ten Commandments to the children of Israel.

1. Brooke and McLean, vol.I, part II, Exodus.

2. Rahlfs, Septuaginta.

3. Brooke and McLean, vol.I, part III, Numbers and Deuteronomy,

4. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament, translated by R.W. Funk, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961, p.183, section 362.

5. G.B. Winer, Grammar of New Testament Greek, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1882, pp.396-397, cf. also F.A. Philippi, Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1878, vol.I, p.337.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul quotes the first two words of Exodus 20:17¹ and Deut. 5:21. He omits τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου no doubt because he desires to apply ἐπιθυμήσεις in a wider sense than just that of a man desiring his neighbor's wife. It is not due to a lapse of memory, for the Ten Commandments would doubtless be one of the first portions of Scripture committed to memory in his youth and kept fresh in his mind by his subsequent training under Gamaliel. He wants to use ἐπιθυμήσεις in its widest sense and therefore he leaves off all qualification.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Talmud

A much more limited interpretation of this citation from the OT seems to have been held by the Rabbis as revealed in the Talmud. The Talmud applies this verse to people who take or do things without the ability, or at least the desire, to pay for them. Baba Mezia says concerning the phrase: "'Thou shalt not covet' is understood by people to apply to that for which one is not prepared to pay."²

b. Post-Apostolic Fathers

In the Didache a reference is made to "Thou shalt not covet" in a rather long paragraph of prohibitions of a similar nature. However no attempt is made to elaborate upon the scope of its meaning.³

c. New Testament Parallels

This identical citation from Exodus 20:17 and Deut. 5:21 is referred to again by Paul in Romans Chapter 13:9 along with several other of the Ten Commandments. However in Rom. 13:9 there are some

1. Denney, ECT, p.639.

2. The Babylonian Talmud, Baba Mezia, p.23.

3. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.218, 230.

textual difficulties. In Romans 13:9 p46, A, B, D, G and many other MSS, Lectionaries, versions and Fathers include the phrase cited here after οὐ κλέψεις, but Codex 1984, Clement, Origen and Adman-tus exclude it; Chrysostom substitutes οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις. Other MSS K, Ψ, 1, 69,¹ include both οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις and οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις in an evident conflation of texts. But the papyri and unical manuscript evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of including the citation and excluding οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις. Paul's purpose in citing this quotation here is practical, something that is to be in evidence in the Christian's life. While in Romans 7:7 he cites the phrase purely as an example to help prove a point in his argument.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Though this citation from Exodus 20:17 is cited again by Paul in Romans 13:9 the usage there is different; there it comes in a hortatory section; here it comes in a didactic or doctrinal section.

In the OT the reference to covetousness is not general as in Paul's use of it, but specific. The commandment is "thou shalt not covet" a neighbor's house, wife, manservant, etc. But it is sufficiently broad in the final phrasing of it (thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's) for Paul legitimately to construe it generally.

In this discussion concerning the believer's struggle with evil powers in his own nature both before and after conversion, Paul presents an extreme case to make his point clear. He speaks of lust as a personal experience.² And in doing so Paul lifts the phrase

1. Kilpatrick, The Greek New Testament.

2. Nigel Turner, Grammatical Insights into the New Testament, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1965, p.86.

right out of its context and without any historical reference at all cites it as a commandment against covetousness in the widest and most general sense.¹ Paul uses the citation in this general sense because:

"The prohibition against covetousness is the very essence of the law because covetousness is the impulse which subjugates man to things and leads him to make of things his gods Covetousness includes both idolatry of the world and of the self. When the law intervenes to forbid covetousness, it faces man with the obligation of choosing to live for God and by the help of God, and instead of making his own gods and building his own self-security, of submitting to God and receiving from God his life. To confront man with this fundamental decision is the business of the law and its impingement on human existence."²

Paul uses this citation to show what the function of the Law really was. The Law does not create sin, but it reveals and in a certain sense provokes sin.³ From the consciousness of desire striving within against the Law arises the knowledge of the principle of sin within.⁴ Unless the Law had put restraint upon sin, a man would never have known how great his wickedness was, or how much propensity to sin he had. The restraints of the Law gall one's evil passions so that they break out in sin. In this way man comes to realize how sinful he is.⁵ Paul feels it necessary to show the true function of the Law because the Jew, in his veneration of the Law, would be sure, after Paul's treatment of it, to ask, 'Do you mean to say that the Holy Law of God is not only insufficient to save us, but is even the occasion of increased sin?'⁶

1. Stuart, p.238.

2. Leenhardt, pp.185-86.

3. C.J. Vaughan, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Macmillan and Co., London, 1893, p.136.

4. Hodge, p.222.

5. Stuart, p.238.

6. Barnes, p.148.

Thus, he uses this citation, not as a proof text as he has done previously, but as an illustration of what he has said just previously in verse seven. Thus the citation may be taken as confirmation of, but not proof of, what has gone before in the context.¹

1. Hodge, p.222.

- ROMANS 8:36

THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 8:36

καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι

ἕνεκεν σοῦ θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς
πρόβατα σφαγῆς.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 44:22(44:23)

כִּי עָלֵךְ הִרְגָנוּ כָּל הַיּוֹם נִחְשָׁבָנוּ כְּצֹאֵן טְבָחָה

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 44:22(43:23)

ὅτι ἕνεκα σοῦ θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς
πρόβατα σφαγῆς.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Here again for the fifth or perhaps the sixth time¹ Paul uses his favourite indefinite IF to introduce a citation from the 43rd Psalm.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

ἔνεκεν, which Robertson calls the more common form of the new Ionic ^{by which} ~~ἔνεκεν~~ ^{ἔνεκεν} (the attic form was nearly displaced from the third century B.C. on),²

is the prevailing form in inscriptions.³ It is read ἔνεκα by Codices C, K, a large number of other MSS, Clement, Origen, Methodius, and Chrysostom.⁴ ἔνεκεν is supported by Codices \aleph , A, B, D, E, F, G, L, and many others. Since the evidence is so comprehensive and extensive there is little question that ἔνεκεν is the correct reading. Von Soden also lists $\omega\varsigma$ as being read $\epsilon\lambda\varsigma$ by four MSS of his I^{a2} group of minuscule MSS.⁵

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Babylonian Codex E^{cl} reads טְבִיחָהּ for טְבִיחָהּ and הִירֹם perhaps should be read יֹרֶם without the article.⁶

b. Septuagint Text

ἔνεκα is supported by Codices B, R, Lucian, Theodoret and Codex 55 while ἔνεκεν is supported by Codices S (\aleph), 2013, a few Lucian MSS, T, and A.⁷

1. cf. Romans 3:4 in UBS, The Greek New Testament. See also comment on the IF of Romans 3:4 in this paper.
2. Robertson's Grammar, p.183.
3. Arndt and Gingrich.
4. Tischendorf, Vol.II, also von Soden, Vol.II.
5. Von Soden, Vol.II.
6. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.
7. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10, Psalmi cum Odis, also Sanday and Headlam, p.221.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This verse is set near the end of a psalm of twenty-six verses in which the psalmist declares that it is God Himself who has planted Israel. The psalmist says that, though he is in conflict with his enemies, he will not trust in his bow: he will trust rather in God. In this context he reminds God that Israel is killed all the day long for His sake - or because of God's lack of support. The three verses following the citation call upon God to awake to the situation and save the psalmist for His mercy's sake.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul quotes nearly verbatim from the LXX which agrees very closely with the Hebrew.¹

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

Midrash and Talmud

Psalm 44:22 is mentioned several times in Midrash Rabbah usually with the literal interpretation of the Israelites suffering at the hands of their enemies because of their devotion to God. Twice it is cited in reference to a generation of great persecution, and once Israel is spoken of as making atonement for the nations by her suffering.²

This verse is also used in a similar way in the Talmud. In one reference the story is told of four hundred young men and women who were carried off by victorious enemies for immoral purposes. These all committed suicide rather than be defiled before their God

1. Toy, p.136; also Liddon, p.144.

2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Lamentations, pp.125, 133; Song of Solomon, pp.40, 86, 113, 176, 276, 309; Ecclesiastes, p.106. See also Herman L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich, 1954, p.259.

in a foreign land. In the thinking of the writer of the Gittin these young people died for the honour of God and Israel and Psalm 44:22 is applied literally to them.¹

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

It is not clear from Psalm 44:22 whether the term "for thy sake" means that because of their fidelity to God they are "killed all the day long" or that they are suffering because God has not seen fit to give them aid against their enemies. The psalmist complains against God and calls Him to witness their fidelity to Him. He calls upon God to "awake", to "arise", and not "cast (them) off forever", etc. There is no clear indication that they are suffering because of their fidelity to Him, that is, because they are God's people, but seemingly God has turned against Israel for their troubles are attributed by the psalmist to God's lack of support. It is everywhere said that they are not helped by God, who in spite of their faithfulness, has sold His people for nothing (cf. vv.12,17-18). With this Plummer seems to agree. He says this verse "shows the extreme and constant sufferings of God's people, even at a time when they had not displeased him by any recent or visible defection."² The psalmist is at pains to show that Israel is suffering at the hands of God, and since they have been faithful to Him, he cannot understand it.³ He finds this chastening utterly incomprehensible.

However, many commentators, because of verse 22, feel that the psalmist is saying that they are suffering at the hands of their enemies because they are God's people. J. Wellhausen says:

1. The Babylonian Talmud, Gittin, p.267.

2. Plummer, p.442.

3. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms, S.P.C.K., London, 1962, pp.249-50.

"God's champions cannot understand why He disowns them, seeing that toward Him they are conscious of unchanging fidelity. It is in defense of their religion that the Jews are now being slaughtered by the heathen."¹

Wellhausen further comments that this suffering in defense of their religion could only have taken place in the Maccabean period in the second century B.C. Though there may be good reasons to so date the Psalm there is no statement that they are suffering for or because of their religion.

G. Rawlinson is in agreement with Wellhausen on the interpretation of this verse. He says:

"the heathen hate them, and make war upon them as worshippers of one exclusive God, Jehovah, and contemners of their many gods whom they hold to be 'no gods'."²

Neither Rawlinson nor Wellhausen offer any evidence to support their interpretation. I do not believe this interpretation can be supported by the context.

Most commentators do not discuss "for thy sake" but seem to imply that the verse indicates Israel is suffering in defense of their religion.³ "For thy sake" is the translation כִּי עֲלֶיךָ. Though עֲלֶיךָ is often used in the OT it is used only four times with the particle כִּי.⁴ It is so used in II Chron. 14:11 (10) which is translated by the RSV as "for we rely on thee". In 20:12 it is used again being translated "but our eyes are upon thee."

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1. J. Wellhausen, The Book of the Psalms, translated by H.H. Furness and John Taylor; James Clarke & Co., London, 1898, p.183.
 2. The Pulpit Commentary, edited by H.D.M. Spence and Joseph S. Exell; Psalms, Vol.I, Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1911, p.343.
 3. Leenhardt, p.238.
 4. Solomon Mandelkern, Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae, Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria, 1955.

In Psalm 69:7(8) where like our citation it is translated "for thy sake". כִּי is used as a relative causal particle to mean, because, since, while, etc. לְ is the preposition עַל and the pronominal suffix ך . עַל is used frequently in the OT and corresponds to the Greek ἐπὶ (ἀνά) and ὑπέρ and means, on, upon, over, etc. It has derivative meanings of, being impending, continuity, motion towards, although, because, as, according to, for, on account of, etc.¹ Brown, Driver and Briggs say of this last meaning, "The basis being conceived as involving the ground לְ denotes the cause or reason, on account of, because." They cite Deut. 20:3, Deut. 24:16 and other references.²

Therefore, because the psalmist nowhere says Israel is suffering because they have been faithful to God, and since the psalmist in the context attributes their troubles to God and calls upon God to "rouse" Himself on their behalf, I believe a more correct translation in harmony with the context would be, "On account of you we are killed all the day long." That is, they suffer because God has neglected them, therefore the call for God to "rouse" Himself in verses 23-26.

The psalmist is bewildered, but not Paul. In verse 35 he intimates the Christian may expect suffering and in verse 36, even death, but the note of triumph comes ringing in loud and clear. Here we have a good example of the increased force and the new character that Paul gives quotations from the OT. This difference is traceable to Paul's confrontation with the post-resurrection Christ on the way to Damascus. Therefore, he gives a new significance to

1. Gesenius.

2. Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962.

the phrase "for thy sake". The psalmist thought Israel was suffering because God had not been dealing fairly with His people.¹ But Paul, knowing the Rabbinic interpretation of this verse, that Israel suffered because of her faith towards God,² applied it to suffering on behalf of the Messiah. Lindars thinks that Paul's love for the Psalms "led him to correlate Ps. 44:23 with the idea of the lamb led to the slaughter," which enables him to "make a homiletic application of it to the members of the Church."³ This, for Paul, was a privilege for in so suffering one entered into the fellowship of His sufferings. Therefore one's sadness is turned to joy, and the suffering Christian is enabled to glory in tribulation.⁴ Paul does not refer to the context or indicate in any way whether this is a psalm from the Davidic era or from the post-exilic era. He merely sees in this psalm a record of OT saints suffering even during a time of fidelity to God. And sees in this an historical example of what Christians of his day and every age may expect. Only the Christian need not be bewildered about it because "in all these things we are more than conquerors".(v.37) Because He conquered those who are "in Him" can have victory instead of bewilderment.

Paul does not regard the historical setting or the context especially, but he gives this citation a literal interpretation very similar to that of the Jews, except that he applies it to suffering for Christ and sees in it a reason for hope and joy in suffering whereas the psalmist did not.

1. Oesterley, p.248.

2. Strack-Billerbeck, p.258f.

3. Lindars, p.240.

4. Vine, p.134.

ROMANS CHAPTERS 9-11

In this third section of Romans there are many citations from the OT, which, by dealing with them one by one, as we must do in this study, we nearly atomize the section and make it difficult to get the whole picture in mind. Therefore, we give a brief synopsis or analysis of the whole section before we begin consideration of the citations themselves.

With chapter nine a new subject is introduced. This new subject is not a digression. It is an essential part of the letter and fulfills a very definite and necessary function of the total context.¹ This new section deals with a problem which was of great concern to Paul and all those of the Early Church who were Jews by birth. It would seem to them and unbelieving Jews as well, that

"if the birth of the Christian Church and the gathering of the Gentiles into it represented God's purpose to bless and save men, God must have turned His back upon Himself. He must have broken His promise to Israel, and cast off His chosen people."²

To the Jew this would seem impossible, therefore it would be natural for the Jew to infer that the Christian Gospel was not of God, or at least have serious doubts about it. Nor would the Jew

1. Nygren, p.357.

2. Denney, EGT, pp.655-6.

have any less doubt about Paul's claim that the Christian Church was the true Israel.

It is to the clarification of this situation that Paul addresses himself in these three chapters. Paul's answer to the problem may be divided into three sections which roughly agree with the chapter divisions.

First, Romans 9:1-29. In the first five verses Paul introduces a personal element by which he reveals his deep love and longing for the salvation of Israel. Then he comes to the main part of this section in verses 6-29. Paul asserts the absolute freedom and sovereignty of God over against any claim on the part of the Jew as to any right he might have to claim against God. The objection of the Jews to the Gospel really meant that because of their relationship to the Covenant they thought they had a claim of right upon God which entitled them to salvation, a claim which God must acknowledge. Paul argues that all God's dealings with man, especially in the history of Israel, as exhibited in the OT refutes such a claim.

In chapter 9:30 - 10:21 Paul shows by the use of various citations from the OT that the explanation of the present rejection of the Jews, which is not complete but partial for there remains a remnant of believing Jews, is found in the fact that they have willfully and stubbornly rejected the Gospel. They have set their hearts upon the establishment of their own righteousness through a legalistic adherence to the letter of the Law, and have refused to submit themselves to the righteousness of God.

In chapter eleven Paul points out that despite the Jews' unbelief, yea, even because of it, God's promises to the fathers will be fulfilled and all Israel will be saved. Gentile Christianity will provoke the Jew to jealousy and they will accept Jesus as their Messiah.

Thus in the very events which seem so unacceptable to the Jewish mind there is gracious providence, a depth of riches and wisdom and knowledge which is beyond words to express.¹

Johannes Munck has given a good bird's-eye-view of Romans 9-11 in his summary outline which I include here with the addition of the respective OT citations to support Paul's argument.

- 9:1-5 Lament over Israel.
- 9:6-13 The Jews cannot claim salvation as a right.
Psalm 44:22
Genesis 21:12; 18:10,14; 25:23
Malachi 1:2,3
- 9:14-21 For God alone determines salvation and damnation.
Exodus 33:19; 9:16
- 9:22-29 But God has in fact acknowledged a remnant of
Israel and the Gentiles.
Hosea 2:23; 1:10
Isaiah 10:22-23; 1:9
- 9:30-10:4 The Gentiles received salvation, but not the Jews
since they would not follow God's way of salvation
in Christ.
Isaiah 8:14; 28:16
- 10:5-13 God requires only faith in the heart and its con-
fession on the lips.
Leviticus 18:5
Deuteronomy 30:12-14
Isaiah 28:16
Joel 2:32
- 10:14-21 God has caused the gospel to be preached by Apostles
to the Jews throughout the earth, but they have not
accepted it.
Isaiah 52:7; 53:1
Psalm 19:4
Deuteronomy 32:21
Isaiah 65:1,2
- 11:1-10 Does this mean that Israel has been rejected? No,
there is a chosen remnant left.
I Kings 19:14,18
Isaiah 29:10
Deuteronomy 29:4
Psalm 69:22-3

1. For the above analysis I am indebted largely to Denney, EGT, pp.655-6.

- 11:11-27 Was it the will of God that the Jews should fall?
No, but the salvation of the Gentiles was the first
result of the Jews' unbelief, and it is God's plan
that the fulness of the Gentiles shall in time call
forth the salvation of all Israel.
Isaiah 59:20,21; 27:9.
- 11:28-32 For God's way of salvation is disobedience and then
mercy, and thus God saves all men.
- 11:33-36 Final Doxology¹
Isaiah 40:13
Job 41:3

1. Johannes Munck, Christ and Israel, Fortress Press, Philadelphia,
1967, p.25.

ROMANS 9:7THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:7

ἀλλ',

ἐν ᾧ Ἰσραὴλ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR GENESIS 21:12

כי ביצחק יקרא לך זרע

THE TARGUM¹ FOR GENESIS 21:12

ארי ביצחק יתקרון לך בנין

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT A FOR GENESIS 21:12

(ὅτι) ἐν ᾧ Ἰσραὴλ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLEL PASSAGESHEBREWS 11:18

(ὅτι) ἐν ᾧ Ἰσραὴλ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα.

1. Berliner, p.20.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

It is not often that Paul introduces a citation with ἄλλα as here, he usually prefers καθὼς γέγραπται or a formula that indicates in a still more graphic way that he is citing Scripture. He uses the simple IF γάρ¹ several times, but ἄλλά is used again as an IF only in Romans 12:20 and Gal. 3:12. The adversative particle is used here as a simple IF because Paul has in mind the ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ of verse six and so evidently did not feel the need to indicate more specifically that he was quoting Scripture. Turpie, however, feels that, though this is undoubtedly a quotation from Genesis 21:12, Paul uses no IF here at all.² Others believe that Paul cites this citation in this way "because it is taken for granted that the saying is one well known."³

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Most MSS as X^C, A, B, F, K, L, and others read Ἰουάx while X*, D, E, G, and a few others read Ἰούx.⁴ The evidence is almost equal for these two readings, both have good Alexandrian and Western texts for support, yet the weight of evidence seems to be on the side of the reading Ἰουάx for the two best Alexandrian representative Codices A and B support this reading, as well as Codices K and L. Von Soden cites Codex 256 from his I^{a3} group of minuscule MSS₍₃₁₉₎ which reads κληρωθήσεται for κληθήσεται.⁵ Since this textual variant is supported by only one MS, which is a late Byzantine MS, the evidence seems unacceptable in the face of the older and

1. Cf. Rom. 10:13; 11:34,35; I Cor. 2:16; 10:26; 15:27.

2. Turpie, New Testament View of the Old, p.285.

3. Meyer, Vol.II, p.126; Liddon, p.157.

4. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.412.

5. Von Soden, Vol.II.

better MS evidence which supports the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

On the authority of Holmes and Parsons Brooke and McLean list Codex 78 as reading κληρονομηθήσεται for κληθήσεται . Brooke and McLean also list Codex c as omitting σοι before σπέρμα .¹ Otherwise no textual variants are known for this verse.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This verse occurs in the context of Abraham sending away Hagar and Ishmael at the insistence of Sarah. It was heart-rending for Abraham. In the midst of his grief God appears to Abraham and tells him not to be grieved overmuch for "in Isaac shall thy seed be called." Then, seemingly to comfort Abraham, God pronounces a secondary, yet nevertheless great, blessing upon Ishmael.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Again Paul cites the LXX verbatim in this citation from Genesis 21:12. This is the sixth verbatim citation in Romans, but not always has the verbatim citation from the LXX been in agreement with the Hebrew as here.

Paul, and also the author of Hebrews, omits the causal ὅτι (כִּי) at the beginning of the quotation. The omission of the causal conjunction ὅτι does not alter the meaning of the construction for the causal idea is found in the immediate context both in Romans 9:7 and in Hebrew 11:18.²

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Post Apostolic Fathers

Barnabas 13:2-3 seems to have this passage of Genesis in mind,

1. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, Part I, Genesis.
2. Kistemaker, p.51.

though he uses it differently from Paul. Barnabas sees it as a prophecy of the Church.¹ Paul cites it simply for the principle of God's sovereign purpose of election. The reference in Barnabas is a very free rendering while Paul quotes verbatim from the LXX.

b. Midrash

Genesis 21:12 is referred to several times in Midrash Rabbah. It is always given a very literal interpretative reference to Israel and is often found quoted in connection with the sacrifice of Isaac.² Strack-Billerbeck says "as the Apostle infers from Genesis 21:12 that only the children of the promise are counted as seed of Abraham so the Midrash indicates that only the confessors of two worlds, that is, the confessors of resurrection and judgment, belong to Abraham's descendants."³

c. New Testament Parallel

Hebrews 11:18

The author of Hebrews quotes verbatim from the LXX as does Paul in Romans 9:7. The causal conjunction is omitted, however, as Kistemaker points out, the causative meaning of the citation is not altered because the causal idea is found in the immediate context.⁴ However, the author of Hebrews applies Genesis 21:12 in a different sense from Paul. In Hebrews it is cited in connection with the discussion of Abraham's faith manifested in his willingness to offer up his only son Isaac, in spite of the promise of this citation that "in Isaac shall thy seed be called." Abraham's faith apparently was so great that he believed that God was able to raise Isaac even from the dead. Paul on the other hand cites Genesis 21:12 for quite a different purpose, to prove that not all the physical descendants of

1. The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers, p.4.

2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, pp.471, 498; Leviticus, p.376.

3. Strack-Billerbeck, p.265.

4. Kistemaker, p.51.

Abraham are the true seed of Abraham - the true Israelites, but only those to whom the promise was given - to those in Isaac.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Genesis passage, from which this citation is taken, refers to the announcement that Isaac was to be the divinely chosen heir of Abraham and that Abraham's official descendants were to be traced through Isaac as well. The words of this citation were spoken so that in the matter of inheritance it would be clear that, though Ishmael was a son of Abraham, he was not the heir or the official descendant of Abraham, but this privilege was to be Isaac's alone. It was God's act of establishing the primogeniture of Isaac.¹ "The words literally mean that in the line of Isaac Abraham should have the posterity which would properly bear his name, and inherit the promises made to him by God. Isaac's descendants are the true Abrahamidae."² This is the reason given to Abraham by God to warrant his following out the suggestion by Sarah that Hagar and Ishmael be expelled.³

Paul does not refer to the historical situation nor does he give this citation a literal interpretation as do the Midrash and the Talmud. Paul interprets this citation as referring to the spiritual descendants of Abraham, the children of the promise. Meyer thinks that Paul limits the citation to Isaac and translates it "In the person of Isaac will a descendant be named to thee."⁴ The argument of this section of Romans begins with the assumption that the

1. Plummer, p.429.

2. Denney, ECT, p.659.

3. Liddon, p.157.

4. Vol.II. p.126; Liddon, p.157.

nation of the Jews had by unbelief forfeited its inheritance of Abraham's promise and that the promise had been transferred to the Gentiles.¹ This meant to the Jew that God's word had failed - an idea which no Jew could accept. Paul denies the inference because, he argues, the "Israel" of the covenant does not mean everyone who was a descendant of Abraham. Ishmael was a descendant of Abraham but no Jew thought of the Arabs as his descendants according to the promise. Scripture declares that "it is through Isaac that your offspring shall be reckoned." And because Isaac's birth was supernatural, according to the promise of God, which was believed by Abraham, it is evident that from the beginning there were some who were the physical seed of Abraham who were outside the promise,² yet that does not mean that God's word had failed. So, Paul says, the same is true today. There are those who are the physical seed of Abraham and there are those who are the "children of promise" and the two may or may not coincide.³ This implied a choice between Ishmael and Isaac, therefore the doctrine of election was illustrated in the very commencement of the nation. As God made such a choice then so he does now. As God rejected Ishmael then so he rejects some now.⁴

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1. Johannes Munck, Christ and Israel, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1967, p.35.
 2. Ibid, p.36.
 3. Dodd, Epistle of Paul to the Romans, Fontana Books, Hodder and Stoughton, Edinburgh, 1965, p.153.
 4. Johannes Munck, Christ and Israel, p.34, also Barnes, p.90.

ROMANS 9:9THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:9

ἐπαγγελίας γὰρ ὁ λόγος οὗτος,

κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR GENESIS 18:10,14

שוב אשוב אליך כעת חיה והנה בן לשרה אשתך: אשוב

אליך כעת חיה ולשרה בן:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR GENESIS 18:10,14

ואמר מתב איתוב לותך כעידן דאתון קימין והא ברא

לשרה איתתך ושרה שמעת בתרע משכנא והוא אחורוהי: קימין
ולשרה בק

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT A FOR GENESIS 18:10,14

ἐπαναστρέψων ἤξω πρὸς σὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας,
καὶ ἔξει υἱὸν Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου. (14) εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναστρέ-
ψω πρὸς σὲ εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός.

1. Berliner, p.16.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the only place in the New Testament where this IF appears. In Eph. 6:2 Paul uses ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ to introduce a citation from Exodus 20:2 otherwise, surprising as it may seem this word, which means so much to the Church today, is not used to refer to OT Scripture. In fact, even here, some writers do not consider these words to be an actual IF.¹ However, it seems to me that Turpie is right in considering it as such.² That this phrase is used as an IF seems apparent from the context. Paul introduces the quotation from Genesis 21:12 in verse seven with a brief ἀλλὰ and continues his argument on through verse eight. Then he introduces another quotation this time from Genesis 18:10,14 to substantiate his contention that only "the children of the promise are reckoned as descendants."³ Thus it is evident that this phrase referring as it does to the "promise" was meant to introduce Scripture.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The text here is remarkably free of textual variants. There are none reported by anyone on the citation itself, although Tischendorf indicated that Codices D and E omit the article ὁ before λόγος in the IF.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Hebrew Massoretic Text

לְהַנִּיחַ has a questionable reading of לְהַנִּיחַ by the LXX and Brian Walton's second edition of the Syriac Polyglot Version. Another conjectural variant is כָּעֵת be read for כָּעֵת.

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1. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.160.
 2. Turpie, New Testament View of the Old, p.316, cf. also Henry Gough, The New Testament Quotations, Walton and Maberly, London, 1855, p.14.
 3. R.S.V.

b. Septuagint Text

Codices 31,83 read ἴδου before ἐπαναστρέφων, minuscule MSS e, -j, c₂ read ἀναστρέφων instead of ἐπαναστρέφων, Philo in one out of two places reads ἐπανίω for ἐπαναστρέφων; Codex 68 reads ἐπαναστρέφοντες on the authority of Holmes and Parsons. ἦξω is read ἦγω by MS o, it is read ἦξομεν by Codex 68 again on the authority of Holmes and Parsons. κατὰ τοῦτον is omitted by minuscule MS γ. εἰς ὥρας is read ἥς ὥρας by MS f, εἰς ὃν ὥρας by MS m and the dialogues of Timothy and Aquila in the Conybeare edition, and εἰς νέωτα by half of the references in Philo. For the phrase ἦξει..... σου minuscule Codex γ reads ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός; for ἔξει minuscule Codex n reads ἔξης while Codex m and the Coptic Sahidic Version read τέξει; Σάρρα is read Σάρα by minuscule Codex m; ἡ γυνὴ σου is omitted by the Coptic Ethiopic version.¹ Thus for the LXX and other Versions there are numerous textual variants but for our purposes these variants are of little significance, for it will be noted that of these variants only two are involved in Paul's citation and these are in late minuscule MSS only and only one of these is a variant from both LXX A and Paul, the other is read by both Paul and LXX A.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The context of this citation from verses 10 and 14 of Genesis 18 is that of the visit of the Lord in the persons of three men who visited Abraham in the heat of the day. During the visit they announced that Sarah was to bear a son the following year. The first part of the citation occurs in this announcement. Sarah's laugh at the announcement draws a rebuke from one of the three visitors. The

1. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, Part I, Genesis.

second part of the citation is taken from the words of this rebuke. Immediately following, the three visitors tell Abraham that they are going to visit Sodom and Gomorrah whereupon Abraham makes a plea for Lot and his family.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

After giving two verbatim quotations from the LXX, Paul once again abridges the OT by selecting two phrases from Gen. 18:10,14 and combines them here in Rom. 9:9.¹ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον² is taken from verse ten and καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός is taken from verse fourteen. The order of the first clause is changed, the ἐπαναστρέφων and πρὸς σέ at the beginning of the LXX clause are omitted and ἔγω is exchanged for ἐλεύσομαι which is then placed finally after τοῦτον.³ The εἰς ὥρας at the end of the clause is omitted as is the whole final clause of verse ten. Only the final clause of verse fourteen is used by Paul.

There is some confusion⁴ as to the extent meaning of כעת ה'יה of the/ which is translated κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον by the LXX. Literally it means "as the time revives", but the most appropriate meaning for the phrase here seems to be "according to this time" which is the exact rendering of the LXX and Paul.⁵ Randolph feels that the diffe-

1. Meyer, Vol.II, p.128.

2. κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν is a phrase used only moderately often in the LXX, it is used about two-thirds as often as εἰς τὸν καιρὸν, (at least 23 times as against 35) but these two prepositions are used far more sparingly with καιρός than is the preposition ἐν (cf. A Handy Concordance of the Septuagint, London, S. Bagster and Sons Ltd., 1887.) See also Edwin Hatch and H.A. Redpath, Concordance to the Septuagint, Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria, 1954, Vol.II. In the NT κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν is used only four times (It is used here and in Rom.5:6; Acts 19:23 and Jn. 5:4). This seems to indicate that the phrase is more common to the LXX than to the NT. (W.F. Moulton, A Concordance of the Greek Testament, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1963.

3. Liddon, p.158.

4. Toy, p.138; see also Olshausen, p.328; Meyer, Vol.II, p.128.

5. Turpie, The Old Testament in the New, p.145; Davidson, p.146, and others.

rence here is so great between the Hebrew and the known LXX texts of these words that "the apostle seems here to have made use of some other translation different from any we now have."¹ However, Toy thinks that the LXX is a rendering of כעת הזה rather than כעת חיה because Codex B has a lacuna at Gen. 18:10,14 and Codex A may always be suspected of following the NT text. Accordingly he believes we cannot determine the relation of Codex A to the text of Romans. He is inclined to think that Codex A may be a free condensation of Codex B or may have followed the Aramaic which supposedly read כעת הזה.² But perhaps Davidson is right when he points out that עת would normally, but not always, have taken הזה, the feminine demonstrative, which would not likely have been taken for חיה.³ Olshausen takes a different approach from Toy but arrives at the same conclusion. Olshausen thinks that the phrase εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τούτων of verse 14 probably originally was the text of the LXX and that κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτων was introduced into verse 10 from Rom. 9:9 by the copyists of Codex A.⁴ Although opinions vary about the text standing behind Rom. 9:9, there is widespread agreement that the meaning is simply "at this time in the following year."⁵ The LXX is a somewhat free translation of the Hebrew. Paul's deductions from the passage are quite in harmony with both its words and spirit.⁶ Ellis indicates that this citation is at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary.⁷

1. T. Randolph, The Prophecies and other Texts Cited in the New Testament, Oxford, 1782, pp.35,36.

2. Toy, p.138.

3. Davidson, p.146.

4. Olshausen, p.328.

5. Sanday and Headlam, p.243.

6. Ibid.

7. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

6. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

In this OT passage God announced to Abraham that Sarah was to bear him a son the following year. This had reference to a physical and historical event which became actualized in the history of Abraham the following year in the birth of Isaac. Paul takes this promise made to Abraham and sees in it a reference to the true heirs of Abraham as being "children of promise" typified in Isaac in contrast to those whom he denominates "the children of the flesh" typified by Ishmael. The argument of Paul is that God made a distinction far back at the beginning of the race which formed an illustration of what He is doing in the Messianic Age.¹ The promise in this instance is the promise given to Abraham, which Abraham believed, and which was fulfilled in the birth of Isaac, a birth of supernatural intervention.² "Hence therefore, we see that not the bodily descent, but the divine promise constitutes the relation of belonging to Abraham's fatherhood."³ Isaac's birth depended upon the promise of God which was in fact the effective cause of it.⁴ From this Paul deduces the general law that the mere physical connection with the Jewish race which he characterizes as *κατὰ σάρκα*, does not necessarily imply a share in the *ἐπαγγελία* of God, because it did not in the original situation recorded in Genesis.⁵

Paul is more concerned here with the historical situation of the OT citation than in most of his citations thus far. He also interprets the citation literally, that is he sees in this citation a

1. Barnes, p.191.

2. Vaughan, p.177.

3. Meyer, Vol.II, p.128.

4. Munck, Christ and Israel, pp.37-39.

5. Sanday & Headlam, pp.242-43.

literal reference to the birth of Isaac. But he goes further and sees in this citation a reference to the "children of the promise" which goes beyond the mere physical import of the literal interpretation of the verse. This accords with the way he has interpreted his citations thus far in Romans.

ROMANS 9:12THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:12

ἐρρέθη αὐτῇ ὅτι

ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι .

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR GENESIS 25:23

וְרַב יַעֲבֹד צָעִיר

THE TARGUM¹ FOR GENESIS 25:23

וְרַבָּא יִשְׁתַּעֲבֹד לְזַעִירָא

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT A FOR GENESIS 25:23

καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.

1. Berliner, p.26.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the only time this IF is used in the NT. The aorist passive participle of λέγω is used often in the IFs of Matthew ^{indicative} but in the aorist passive ^{in an IF} the verb is used only once ^{in the NT} and that by Paul here.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

αὐτῆ in the IF is omitted by Codices p46, D*, by Origen, Ambrosiaster, and Augustine.¹ A difference in the spelling of ἐρρέθη is found in Codices B³, D**, E, L, and a few other MSS. γάρ is added after ἐρρέθη by Codex P, and by Codex Ψ and a few other MSS.³ δουλεύσει is spelled δουλεύση by Codex L.⁴ It would seem from the evidence of the MSS that there are only minimal problems with the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

On the three words involved in Paul's citation from Gen.25:23 there are no textual variants in the Hebrew text.

b. Septuagint Text A

Minuscule C₂ omits the last half of Gen. 25:23 including the words of the citation. δ before μελζων is read τό on the authority of Holmes and Parsons.⁵

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The first eleven verses of Gen.25 give a brief account of the life of Abraham after Sarah's death. Verses 12-18 give a list of

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1. Nestle and Aland,
 2. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.413.
 3. Von Soden, Vol.II.
 4. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.413.
 5. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part I, Genesis, p.65.

the progeny of Ishmael. Verses 19-26 give a very brief account of Isaac and Rebecca and the birth of Jacob and Esau. Rebecca was barren, Isaac entreated the Lord for her and she conceived twins. Rebecca was alarmed at the struggle of the twins in her womb and enquired of the Lord for the reason of it. Paul's citation forms part of the answer the Lord gave her. The section concludes with the birth of Esau and Jacob.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul is very selective in this citation. Out of a verse that contains four strophes he chooses the last strophe, composed of only three words, to support his teaching in Rom. 9:9. The citation itself in the LXX is a faithful rendering of the Hebrew, so much so, that some scholars consider it a Hebraism.¹ Paul drops the simple conjunction καί of the LXX and replaces it with recitative ὅτι. The recitative ὅτι being just a literary device, much like quotation marks, forms no part of the citation, thus we are left with another verbatim citation from the LXX. This seventh verbatim citation from the LXX, like the sixth of Rom. 9:12, is in agreement with the Hebrew.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Post-Apostolic Fathers

In Barnabas 13:2, Genesis 25:21-23 is quoted, however, with much less emphasis upon the act of choosing Jacob over Esau as a divine act of the Sovereign God. For Barnabas it is God's way of showing "that one people is greater than the other."²

1. Sanday & Headlam, p.246.

2. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.258, 282.

b. Midrash and Talmud

Although Genesis 25:23 is mentioned in Midrash Rabbah many times,¹ most of the places offer little help toward interpretation of the verse. They are concerned to show that the language used in this passage adds up to 12 thus proving that Rebecca knew she was carrying the 12 tribes.

In the Talmud Gen. 25:23 is cited in a very literal way as meaning that the one (Isaac) shall be stronger than the other (Esau). These men then are taken metaphorically to mean, in a larger sense, nations. There are several citations² of Gen. 25:23 in the Talmud but they are of no help for our study.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The statement "the elder shall serve the younger" seems to be a prophetic statement. Rebecca being alarmed at the excessive signs of life of the child she is carrying in her womb, asks the Lord what it is all about. The Lord gives answer and tells her that she is carrying twins and that they will be the progenitors of two nations. The Lord adds further that the elder shall serve the younger. This is but another way of saying that the nation which the younger son establishes will be stronger than the nation of the elder.³ The citation thus has symbolical or metaphorical meaning rather than literal. As is apparent from the following history, the writer did not intend to indicate that Esau was to serve Jacob in any literal sense.⁴ No

1. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, pp.164, 309, 418, 560, 561, 582.

2. The Babylonian Talmud, Berokoth, p.357; Pesahim, p.200; Megillah, p.29; Sotah, p.205; Sanhedrin, p.614; Abodah Zarah, p.356. See also Strack Billerbeck, p.267.

3. Alford, p.408.

4. Arnold and Ford, p.226.

reason is given why this should be, it is merely stated that such will be the case. The fulfilment of this prophecy came about in the theocratic subjection of Esau in the loss of his birthright and of the paternal blessing whereby the theocratic lordship passed to Jacob,¹ and nationally in the temporary subjugation of the Edomites under David and their final complete subjection under the Maccabees.² There is no reference here to anything other than the temporal condition of Jacob and Esau and especially to the temporal condition of their descendants.³

Paul cites this passage in partial answer to a possible objection raised against his argument carried only as far as verse nine. Here Paul cites evidence of divine differentiation where the subjects are twins not yet born, of the same parentage, in the womb, of the same mother, and having not yet done either good or evil. Further the differentiation went against the laws of primogeniture, for the younger was chosen over the elder. The decisive word of this unprecedented action was spoken directly to Rebecca. It is seen from this that claims of right either upon the basis of works or descent are entirely futile - for it is apparent that God acts in total disregard of them.⁴ Paul wishes to show that God's promise has not come to no effect because many of the descendants of Abraham have no part in its fulfilment in Christ.⁵ To put it in another way, Paul here is endeavoring to answer the question, "How can the Covenant promise of God be regarded as inviolate when the mass of Israel has remained in unbelief and come short of the covenant promises?"⁶ He answers

1. Meyer, Vol.II, p.134.

2. Hodge, p.311. Morrison, Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1888, p.81.

3. Arnold and Ford, p.226.

4. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.38f. Denney, EGT, Vol.II, p.660.

5. Kenneth Wuest, Romans in the Greek New Testament, Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, 1956. p.160.

6. Murray, Vol.II, p.18.

the question by showing that right from the beginning God has made distinctions which were not based on works or descent and that at the present time God is continuing to act as He has in the past, in accordance with His sovereign will.

Therefore we may conclude that Paul uses this citation with due reference to its historical setting and context. We may also say that he interprets it with understanding and appreciation of its literal meaning and fulfilment in history. But Paul sees clearly that the words of this citation are applicable to the situation that has arisen between the followers of Christ and the Jews, who according to the flesh, are in covenant relation to God. This verse, taken literally by Paul, sets forth God's sovereign act of differentiation between two people, at the beginning of their race's history, which is a good illustration of what God is doing in the Messianic Age.

ROMANS 9:13THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:13

καθὼς γέγραπται,

τὸν Ἰακώβ ἠγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαΐ ἐμίσησα.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR MALACHI 1:2-3

ראה את יעקב ואת עשו שנאתי

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR MALACHI 1:2-3

καὶ ἠγάπησα τὸν Ἰακώβ, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαΐ ἐμίσησα.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Paul once again reverts to his favourite IF which he has used six times already in his letter to the Romans. Here again there is the variant reading καθόπερ supported only by Codex B while all other MSS support καθώς.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Other than in the IF the text is almost free of textual variants. The K^C group of minuscule MSS listed by von Soden reads ὅτι after γέγραπται of the IF.¹

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The late Codices 731 and 91* omit the conjunction καί as do the Achmimic and Ethiopic versions. The Codex S (K) adds λέγει Κύριος.²

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

These words occur in Malachi's opening reproach to Israel for ingratitude.³ God tells Israel through Malachi that he has loved Israel. Malachi, anticipating the question that Israel would raise, puts a hypothetical question in the mouth of Israel and asks, How hast Thou loved us? The citation in Romans 9:13 is the answer given by Malachi which extends through verse five. The destruction which has come upon Edom is evidence of God's displeasure.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Although Paul changes the order of the first phrase in the LXX so that τὸν Ἰακώβ comes first, in order to emphasize or make a

1. Von Soden, Vol.II,

2. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.13, Duodecim Prophetæ.

3. Liddon, p.160.

sharper contrast between the two sons and the people which sprang from them, the citation is none the less verbatim, the eighth quotation by Paul in Romans in which he quotes from the LXX. The LXX is also a close translation of the Hebrew.¹

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

Midrash

There are, as might be expected, many references to this citation in the Midrash,² but none in the Talmud, where we might expect them. The Midrash uses it in reference to marital love,³ to the leading of Joseph down into Egypt,⁴ to the answer of God to Sarah when she enquired about the struggle of the twins in her womb,⁵ and once this citation is quoted to prove that love is the merit of the righteous.⁶ But mostly it is used to explain chastisement as a sign of love.⁷

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

There seems little doubt that the prophet Malachi uses Esau and Jacob in a collective sense to indicate Edom and Israel respectively,⁸ though Meyer disagrees.⁹ It is true Malachi refers to these two nations patronymically yet it seems impossible to divorce the nations completely from their progenitors, especially in view of Genesis 25:-.

1. Randolph, Thomas, The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the New Testament, J. and J. Fletcher, Oxford, 1782, Index II, p.H.
2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, pp.740, 561, 800; Exodus, pp. 3, 554; Leviticus, p.89; Numbers, pp.206, 460, 703, 865; Esther, pp.42, 55, 82, 115, 308f; Ecclesiastes, pp.82, 113.
3. Ibid, Genesis, p.740.
4. Ibid, p.800.
5. Ibid, Genesis, p.561.
6. Ibid, Numbers, p.460.
7. Ibid, Exodus, p.3; Leviticus, p.89.
8. James Morrison, Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1888, p.83; Vine, p.142; Arnold and Ford, p.227; Barnes, p.193; Leenhardt, p.250; F.F. Bruce, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, p.193.
9. Meyer, Vol.II, p.134.

We cannot but ask, "Why this differentiation between Edom and Israel?" And likewise, we cannot but answer, "It is because of the differentiation between Jacob and Esau."¹ So when the terms Jacob and Esau are used the nations are not thought of apart from their progenitors, but in the light of the differentiation of their progenitors that can be traced all through their history.

Though there are many commentators² who feel that the distinction between love and hate here is that of "loving" and "loving less", this seems questionable. To hate does mean to love less in some instances,³ however in the case of this citation in Malachi the context speaks of judgment upon Esau. The "Lord has indignation", against Edom "forever". This indicates disfavour, disapprobation and active displeasure. To be sure we cannot predicate to God's "hate" those unworthy aspects of sinful human hate. "In God's hate there is no malice, malignancy, vindictiveness, unholy rancour or bitterness."⁴ God's hate cannot adequately be defined in terms of not loving or loving less. This would impugn God's love.⁵ We may not tone down God's hate⁶ by speaking of it as anthropopathic as many do.⁷ Murray may be right in saying, "The hate of verse 13 belongs to the transcendent realms of God's sovereignty for which there is no human analogy."⁸

Paul uses this citation to illustrate and amplify the citation from Genesis 25:13 in the previous verse. He does so without regard for the context or historical situation. He either counts upon the

1. Murray, Vol.II, p.20f.; Sanday & Headlam, p.246, Hodge, p.312.

2. Arnold & Ford, p.327, Hodge, p.312.

3. cf. Gen.29:32,33; Deut.21:15; Matt.6:24; 10:37,38; Luke, 14:26; John, 12:25.

4. Murray, Vol.II, p.22.

5. cf. Sanday & Headlam, p.246. Murray, Vol.II, p.21f.

6. Alford, p.409.

7. Lenski, p.605 and others.

8. Murray, Vol.II, p.23.

Roman Christians to have a knowledge of the relationship between the Israelites and the Edomites or he considered the context and historical situation unimportant for his purpose. Paul gives this verse a literal interpretation. The citation seems to be regarded as indicating both the individuals named and the nations of which they are the progenitors.¹ Denney says:

"it would not be right to say that Paul is here considering merely the parts assigned by God to nations in the drama of providence; he is obviously thinking of Jacob and Esau as individuals, whose own relation to God's promise and inheritance (involving no doubt that of their posterity) was determined by God before they were born or had done either good or ill"²

Paul has been arguing that God is perfectly sovereign in the distribution of His grace. That God does not offer His favor upon the basis of works, but his favor proceeds from his own good pleasure.³ Paul brings in this citation from Malchi 1:2-3 as an illustration and confirmation of this doctrine.⁴ "We are compelled, therefore, to find in this word a declaration of the sovereign counsel of God as it is concerned with the ultimate destinies of men."⁵ With this conclusion C.K. Barrett agrees but adds that though Paul has established the freedom of God in grace, the election of grace "does not take place (as might at first appear from Paul's examples) arbitrarily or fortuitously; it takes place always and only in Christ."⁶ There may be a sense in which Lindars "doctrine of the elite" may be applicable here. This doctrine of the "elite" "only claims that unbelief on the part of some shows up the superiority of the privileged

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1. Sanday & Headlam, p.247.
 2. Denney, EGT, Vol.II, p.661.
 3. Munck, Christ and Israel, pp.42, 44.
 4. Hodge, p.312.
 5. Murray, Vol.II, p.24.
 6. Barrett, pp.182-183.

few" whereas the doctrine of election makes the unbelief of many actually necessary.¹ If this be so, the unbelief of Esau serves as a backdrop to show up the superiority of Jacob's faith. But it is difficult to see how this can be argued from this passage, for the context clearly points out that the election took place "when they were not yet born and had done nothing either good or bad, in order that God's purposes of election might continue"²

1. Lindars, p.164.

2. RSV.

ROMANS 9:15THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:15

τῷ Μωϋσεῖ γὰρ λέγει,

ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰκτιρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτίρω.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR EXODUS 33:19

וַחֲנַנִי אֵת אֲשֶׁר אֶחָן וַרַחֲמֵנִי אֵת אֲשֶׁר אֶרְחַם:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR EXODUS 33:19

וַאֲיַחְוֵן לְמִן דְּאִיחְוֵן וַאֲיַרְחִים עַל מִן דְּאִירְחִים:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR EXODUS 33:19

καὶ ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτέρω.

1. Berliner, p.99.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Here, again, Paul shows his independence from any set IF by using a formula which occurs only here in the whole NT.¹ Although Paul quotes from the Pentateuch at least 35 times yet only four times does he cite Moses by name.²

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

There are no important variants for this verse. However, there is a difference in the spelling of Μωϋσεϛ . The υ is included by Codices X , F, G, K, L, P, and other MSS. It is omitted by A, B, D, E, and other MSS. The final syllable is read -σαι by X , B₃, F, G, 3, 7, 31⁽¹⁰⁴⁾, and other MSS. It is read -ση by Codices A, B*, D, E, K, L, P, and other MSS. γάρ is read before Μωϋσεϛ and after τῷ by Codices A, K, L, and other MSS.³

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

No variants in the Hebrew Text.

b. Septuagint Text

Clement reads ἐλεῶν before ἐλεήσω ; Codex 32 reads ἐάν for ἄν twice; οἰκτεῖρω is read οἰκτεῖρήσω by minuscule Codex x and by the dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, edited by Conybeare.⁴

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This citation occurs in the context of Moses' prayer for God's presence in verses 12-17 and to see God's glory in verse 18. Verses 19-23 is God's answer to Moses' request to see God's glory. Our

1. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, pp.309, 344.

2. Rom. 9:15, 10:5,19; I Cor. 9:9.

3. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

4. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part I, Exodus.

citation occurs in verse nineteen which begins God's answer to the request of Moses. Verse nineteen indicates that God's revelation of Himself to man is a matter of grace, mercy, and sovereign will. Toy thinks this citation refers to God's "freedom of choice between Israel and Moses."¹ This seems doubtful, however, for the passage seems to be more a general statement of the sovereignty of God.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul drops the conjunction *καὶ* and quotes nearly verbatim² from the LXX which agrees substantially with the Hebrew.³

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

Midrash and Talmud

In Midrash Rabbah, there are six references to Ex. 33:19. In four of these references⁴ this verse is interpreted with little emphasis upon the sovereignty of God, in contrast to Paul. God is merciful and gracious, seemingly the Midrash is without any thought that this benevolence is administered through a sovereign will, except for the one instance in Exodus p.525 where the sovereignty of God is fairly clearly set forth. God is spoken of as saying "but to him who hath not I give freely unto him to whom I wish to be gracious" the comment is made "even if he has not earned it." In one reference⁵ this verse is interpreted to mean, God is merciful to those who have a claim upon Him and gracious in answering the prayers of those who do not. Here, too, there is no emphasis upon the sovereignty of God as in Romans 9:15 but the emphasis is upon His mercy and grace.

1. Toy, p.139, see also Boise, p.87.

2. Meyer, vol.II, p.136.

3. Toy, p.138.

4. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, pp.47, 519, 523ff. Lamentations, p.92.

5. Ibid. Deuteronomy, p.30.

In the reference to Ex. 33:19 Berakoth¹ gives a literal interpretation with perhaps a little more emphasis upon the sovereignty of God than in the Midrash, though still short of the emphasis that Paul gives it.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THIS OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The citation occurs when Moses requests to see the glory of God. God grants Moses his request² and tells him that He will permit Moses to see all his goodness, by "goodness" "glory" is to be understood. Then God, as if to prevent Moses from becoming too familiar says that the granting of Moses' request to see His goodness is not because of Moses' request but springs from His own sovereign mercy and graciousness.³ "This utterance of Jehovah to Moses is to be understood in a causal sense as expressing the reason why Moses' request was granted - namely, that it was an act of unconditional grace and compassion on the part of God, to which no man, not even Moses, could lay a just claim."⁴ Alford says that the Hebrew means, "whenever I have mercy on any, it shall be pure mercy, no human desert contributing."⁵

Paul detaches this citation from its context quite easily because it is in axiomatic form.⁶ The historical circumstances under which it occurred are not pertinent to Paul's usage. This passage is cited because Paul readily foresees that his readers are going to ask, 'Is not God unjust in thus choosing one and rejecting another?'⁷ τῷ

1. The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth, p.33.

2. Liddon, p.162.

3. Plummer, p.474.

4. Keil and Delitzsch as quoted by Arnold and Ford, p.228.

5. Alford, Vol.II, p.408.

6. Liddon, p.162.

7. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.43.

made in editioⁿ

Μωϋσῆς is in emphatic position as if Paul is saying, "If to Moses, he, through whom God gave us the whole Law and the Mosaic Covenant, God's favour was absolutely free and unmerited, how much more to others."¹ Vine notes that this scene takes place after Israel's sin of worshipping the golden calf and that the point is that since God showed mercy to Israel after such a flagrant breach of covenant"... surely He could show mercy to the Gentiles who had not been guilty of such an act."² It does not seem that this is quite the point that Paul has in mind. However, the point established is that God is absolutely sovereign and that mercy and compassion shown by God are determined by nothing external to His divine attributes.³ Sanday and Headlam show the difference between Moses and Paul quite perceptively. They say, "The point of the words in the original context is rather the certainty of Divine grace for those whom God has selected; the point which St. Paul wishes to prove is the independence and freedom of the Divine choice."⁴ The point of objection raised is that God is unjust in choosing one and rejecting another. Paul answers that it is not a matter of justice, for all have sinned and justice presupposes rightful claims against God,⁵ but a matter of mercy, which can be operative only where no claim of justice exists. Since mercy is alone the compelling consideration, the only explanation is God's sovereign determination.⁶

Thus we may conclude that Paul interprets this citation without giving too much thought to the context or historical situation; that Paul interprets the citation according to its literal meaning of God's sovereign freedom in the bestowing of mercy; that this sovereignty of

1. Arnold & Ford, p.228.

2. Vine, p.143.

3. Munck, Christ and Israel, pp.44,45.

4. Sanday & Headlam, p.254. See also Munck, Christ and Israel, p.46.

5. Dodd, Epistle of Paul to the Romans, p.156.

6. Murray, Vol.II, p.26.

God is somewhat heightened by the emphasis Paul puts upon God's independence and freedom in the bestowal of His mercy. Paul then is at variance with the Jewish thought of the Rabbis who in interpreting this OT passage emphasized not God's sovereignty and independence in action, but his mercy.¹ It is worthy of note that in the Exodus passage the reference is to mercy upon the Israelites, or so Moses would understand it and in Romans Paul applies it in the widest extent possible to all mankind everywhere.²

1. See under Midrash above.

2. Morrison, Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, p.107.

ROMANS 9:17THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:17

λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή τῷ Φαραὼ ὅτι

εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε ὥς ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμιν μου, καὶ ὥς διαγγελῇ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR EXODUS 9:16

ואולם בעבור זאת העמדתך בעבור הראתך את כחי
ולמען ספר שמי בכל הארצ:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR EXODUS 9:16

וברם בדיל דא קימתך בדיל לאחזיותך ית הילי
ובדיל דיהון משתען גבורת שמי בכל ארעא:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR EXODUS 9:16

καὶ ἔνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης ἵνα ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν μου, καὶ ὥς διαγγελῇ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.

1. Berliner. p.69.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

The IF here is one of Paul's seldom used formulas and is used only here, in this order, in his writings and in the NT. It is a variation of the IFs of Rom. 4:3; 10:11; 11:3; Gal. 4:30; and I Tim. 5:18. Wherever Paul uses γραφή in his IF it is connected in some way with λέγει except in Gal. 3:8 where it is used in connection with εὐηγγελισατο.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

(33) (242)

Codices F, L, P, 17_A, 121_A, and a few other MSS read ἐνδειξομαι for ἐνδειξωμαι. Codices F and G add ὃν after καὶ ὅπως. Codices L, P, and 115_A⁽¹⁰³⁾ read διαγγελεῖ for διαγγελλῇ.¹ However, the evidence is overwhelmingly with the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Kittel thinks that כִּרְאָתִי is perhaps read by many, if not all, versions as כִּרְאָתִי בֶן . Toy, assuming that Paul quotes from an "oral Aramaic translation", believes that the Aramaic and the LXX both follow a Hebrew MS which had כִּרְאָתִי בֶן instead of כִּרְאָתִי. He indicates that the Peshitta and the Targum agree with the Hebrew while the Latin Vulgate follows the LXX.²

b. Septuagint Text

Minuscule Codex i reads τοῦτο for τοῦτου; διατηρήθης is read διατήρησά σε by minuscule Codices v (margin), z (margin), c₂ and the Ethiopic version, minuscule Codex b adds ἕως τοῦ νῦν after διατηρήθης; ἵνα is read ὅπως by Codex 64 on the authority of Holmes and Parsons; ἐνδειξομαι is placed after σοι

1. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.413.

2. Toy, p.140.

by the Armenian version, it is read ἐνδεδίξομαι by Codices b', d, h, i, k*, p, r, y; Codex a₂ omits ἐν after ἐνδεδίξομαι.

ἰσχύον is read δύναντον by Codices A, M (text), d, e, g, j, l, p, s, t, y, z (margin), a₂, b₂, c₂; καί before ὅπως is omitted by Codex n; ὅπως is omitted by the Palestinian Aramaic, contained in Mrs. Lewis's edition of the Lectionary (Studia Sinaitica 6);

διαγγελλῖ is read διαγγελλῖ by Codex h and διαγγειλλῖ by Codex c₂.¹

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion read διετήρησά σε for διετηρήθης of the LXXB and Origen. They also read τὴν δύνανμίν μου for τὴν ἰσχύον μου of the LXXB and Origen.²

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Paul's citation is set in the context of the ten plagues visited upon Pharaoh and Egypt. In announcing to Pharaoh the seventh plague of a great hail God announces through Moses that he has raised up Pharaoh for the very purpose of resisting God so that God would have an occasion to show to all the earth His power.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul makes the citation more emphatic by using εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο for καὶ ἕνεκεν τούτου.³ Paul renders the sense of the Hebrew expression גָּדַלְתִּיךָ more closely than does the LXX by substituting ἐξήγειρά σε for διετηρήθης.⁴ But Munck thinks that ἐξήγειρά corresponds neither to the Hebrew text nor to the LXX.⁵ The variants in versions listed above may indicate that a more literal translation of the Hebrew was in existence. However, the word is very

1. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I. Part II. Exodus and Leviticus.

2. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.I.

3. Sanday and Headlam, p.256.

4. Liddon, p.164.

5. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.46.

likely used by Paul to bring out emphatically what he believed to be the meaning of the passage.¹ The *ἵνα* of the LXX is rendered *ὅπως* by Paul. There seems to be no meaningful reason why Paul should substitute *ὅπως* for *ἵνα* and obliterate the distinction made both by the Hebrew and the LXX except that in the change of the structure of the LXX the two clauses had become coordinate in thought.² *ἵνα* is used approximately 746 times in the NT as against 58 times for *ὅπως*. *ὅπως* was used extensively in inscriptions etc. in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. but in later Greek it was a mark of literary affectation.³ It is difficult to believe that Paul would substitute *ὅπως* for the more common *ἵνα* purely to appear more literary. Paul also substitutes *δύναμιν* which is a variant in the Hexapla, for *ἰσχύν*. *ἰσχός*, used by Hesiod in the 7th century B.C. rarely occurs later in inscriptions or papyri, but is found extensively in the LXX. *δύναμις* is a far more common word with a wider connotation. Both words are used to speak of God's attributes of power.⁴ Paul perhaps thought that *δύναμις*, being more widely used, was more meaningful. Toy believes that "the differences between the texts of Romans and Septuagint point to a translation by Paul from the Aramaic."⁵ The evidence seems to point to the use of oral Aramaic translations in the synagogue after the reading of the Law etc. yet it is difficult to say that this is a case in point. The rest of the citation is taken verbatim from the LXX.⁶ Paul, in this latter portion of the citation, follows the incorrect translation of the LXX where it translates *הַרְאָתְךָ* "to show thee"

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1. Sanday and Headlam, p.256. *Paul's use of ἐξηγήσατο agrees with the Targum.*
 2. *Ibid*, p.257.
 3. Robertson's Grammar, p.985.
 4. Arndt & Gingrich.
 5. Toy, p.140.
 6. Boise, p.88.

as ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ "to show in thee."¹ Paul is at variance in this citation with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary.² Meyer feels that Paul gives "a free and partly intentional variation from the LXX."³

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Midrash

There is a reference to Exodus 9:17 in the Midrash in which Exodus 9:17 is given a literal interpretation according to its historical context.⁴

b. Qumran Literature

Braun says of the relation of Romans 9:17 to Qumran literature that:

"In Qumran, in 1QH9,31f., sei das Medium göttlicher Kraft, unalttestamentlich, der Erwählte; Paulus kenne beides, die erwählende Gotteskraft in II Kor. 12,9f. und die verwerfende Gotteskraft hier in Röm. 9,17."

He goes on to say that although Betz has pointed out something essential in pointing up the electing and saving power of God he overstates the case in giving the impression that Paul presents the destroying (vernichtende) and saving (heilbringende) power of God side by side. This would be at variance with the interpretation of Qumran. He says, in point of fact, that the placing in juxtaposition of the two concepts as here in Romans 9:17-22 is rare for Paul as it is even more so for Qumran.⁵

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.256.

2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

3. Meyer, Vol.II, p.138.

4. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, pp.143-44.

5. Braun, pp.181-82.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

In this citation another proof from Scripture is introduced. The most distinctive thing about this citation is that it introduces into the argument for the sovereignty of God the opposite of mercy, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart. The term ἐγέρσεια is used in the Greek OT in the sense of raising up on the scene of history for a particular purpose.¹ It is used in this way of the Chaldeans Hab. 1:6; of a shepherd for Israel Zech. 11:16 etc.² The citation refers to the position Pharaoh occupied in the providence of God and the role he played in the historical redemption of Israel from Egypt. The stubborn refusal of Pharaoh to let the Children of Israel go became the occasion for the display of God's great power. Israel met with such great opposition and God delivered with such a great display of power that the event of the Exodus was indelibly stamped upon the individual and national conscience of Israel. God's name was and continues to be, declared to be great "throughout all the earth". The import of the words of this citation in Exodus is that God is the sovereign Lord of all mankind. He freely acts out of infinite power and knowledge without any external compulsion whatever. God prevented Pharaoh from being slain by the plagues so that God might adequately exhibit his power. Paul slightly changes the language and generalizes the interpretation so that it encompasses the whole appearance of Pharaoh in the field of history.³

Paul here as in verse 15 does not concern himself with the context and counts upon his readers knowing the historical situation.

1. Murray, Vol.II, p.27.

2. Sanday & Headlam, p.256.

3. Ibid, p.255.

He interprets this citation as does the Midrash,¹ literally, but gives it a broader application in that the citation is made to encompass the whole of Pharaoh's life on the scene of history and in that he uses this citation to show the independent and free use of God's sovereignty in choosing one for blessing and hardening another,² as over against the plain, but powerful statement of God's sovereignty in the OT passage.

1. see above.

2. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.46.

ROMANS 9:25-26THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:25-26

ἐν τῷ ᾧ λέγει,

καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαὸν μου λαὸν μου καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην ἠγαπη-
μένην· καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς, οὐ λαὸς μου ὑμεῖς,
ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR HOSEA 2:23 (25)

וְרַחֲמַתִּי אֶת לֹא רַחֲמָה (וְרַחֲמַתִּי אֶת לֹא רַחֲמָה)

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR HOSEA 2:23

καὶ ἀγαπήσω τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαῷ μου λαὸς
μου εἴ σύ.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR HOSEA 1:10 (2:1)

וְהָיָה בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר לָהֶם לֹא עַמִּי אַתֶּם יֹאמַר לָהֶם בְּנֵי

אֵל הִיא

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR HOSEA 1:10

καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς οὐ λαὸς μου ὑμεῖς,
κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Though Paul refers again to the prophet Moses in I Cor. 15:55 it is only here, indeed in the whole NT, that the prophet is mentioned by name in the IF. It may be assumed that θεός is the subject of λέγει.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The ἐν of the IF is omitted by Codices p46, B, and Augustine. The omission of ἐν by p46 and B seems to be preferred, especially since A tends to interpolation. οὗ is read ᾧ by Codices p46 and K*. ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς is read ἐὰν κληθῇσονται by Codices p46, G, and d. αὐτοῖς is included by Codices K, A, the Koine texts, D, most witnesses as well as the Latin Vulgate and Tischendorf. It is omitted by B, f, Syriac Peshitta, Augustine and Weiss. The αὐτοῖς may have been omitted in B due to a scribal error. ὑμεῖς is omitted by p46 and Irenaeus.² There are also orthographic differences in ὡση and ἐρρέθη.³ Von Soden's Ia₃ group Codex (852) 8505 (69) reads ὁ before οὐ λαός μου. Group H Codex 114₁ reads ὁ for οὐ before λαός. His group H Codex 86 (Ψ) and group Ic₁ read οὗτοι for ἐκεῖ. κληθῇσονται is read for κληθήσονται by group Ib₁, Codex 8206.⁽²⁴²⁾ οὗτοι is added after κληθήσονται by Codices 3₁ and 162⁽²⁴²⁾ of his H³ group.⁴ In our text here p46 and B seem to favour a shorter text, while A and K favour the longer text.^(025 and 81)

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

ἀγαπήσω is read ἐλεήσω by Codices A and Q; ἡγαπημένην is read ἡλετημένην by Codices A and Q as well. ἡγαπήσω καὶ and

1. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, p.334.
 2. Nestle and Aland.
 3. Tischendorf, Vol.II.
 4. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.678.

ἡγαπημένην are supported by B, V, 407, the Coptic, Ethiopic p version, Cyril, Hilary; Codices 239, Ethiopic p version add οὐκ ἡγαπημένην while the Ethiopic p adds still again ἀγαπήσω τήν before οὐκ ἡγαπημένην . Rahlfs in his text follows Codices A, and Q, while Swete in his text follows Codices B, and V. The evidence seems to be fairly evenly divided between the two readings. μου after λαῶν is omitted by Codex V; Codex v also omits εἶ along with Hilary in agreement with the MT; Codices 62, 106, omit everything after οὐ perhaps through homoioteleuton.¹

Hos. 1:10- οὗ is read ᾧ by Cyril, f, and Theodoretus. ἐρρέθη is read ἐλέχθη by Theophytus. Clement of Rome, Origen, Augustine, and Cyril omit καὶ αὐτοὶ after κληθήσονται. ἐκεῖ is added before κληθήσονται by Codices V, 239, A, 26, Lucian recensions 36 and 51, Latin and Armenian versions, Cyril, Cyprian, and Basil of Nazianzus. Codices 51, 613, several other minuscules, Ethiopic versions, Theodorus read αὐτοὶ (ἐκεῖ 51) κληθήσονται . Codices Q^c with an obelus to indicate a doubtful reading, 764 Wirceburgensis Arabic in agreement with the MT omit καὶ before αὐτοὶ . Codex 86 reads οἱ before υἱοὶ .²

Aquila reads οὐ ῥηθήσεται αὐτοῖς, ὁ λαὸς μου, ῥηθήσεται αὐτοῖς υἱοὶ ἰσχυροῦ ζῶντος for the whole phrase after οὗ .³

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS

Hosea 2:23 occurs in the context of a prophecy of the return of Israel into the favour of God and the resulting blessings of peace. The adulterous Israel, who were not God's people, are, because of

1. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.13, Duodecim Prophetæ, p.152.

2. Ibid, p.148.

3. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

God's dealing with them, to become God's people.

Hosea 1:10 is the last verse of Chapter one in the English Bible but the first verse of Chapter two in the Hebrew Bible. This verse occurs in a sort of parenthesis of future blessing. Hosea is told to marry a harlot which he does. His wife bears a daughter who is given the significant name Lo-ruhamah. Then his wife bears another child, a son, who is given the symbolic name of Lo-ammi. The name of this son is meant to symbolize that Israel had been rejected by God as His people. The prophet immediately, upon this thought of the rejection of Israel as the people of God, injects this parenthetic prophecy that those who are called "not His people" shall in the future be called the sons of the living God.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul has conflated these two verses putting Hosea 2:23 first and Hosea 1:10 last.¹ We shall take them up in this order. Paul follows neither the LXX or the Hebrew but makes free use of the text² in his quotation of Hosea 2:23.³ Ellis says that the citation is at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they agree.⁴ Toy believes that the LXX rendering of רַחֲמֵי as ἀγαπήσω instead of "compassionate", "pity", "have mercy on" is inaccurate. That this word is found in the sense of "love" only once in the OT (Ps. 18:2,(1))⁵ is questionable, because the LXX MSS A and Q read ἐλεήσω, and ἀγαπήσω is supported only by the LXX B, V, 407, and some of the early versions. So the evidence is almost evenly divided. καλέσω

1. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, Nisbet & Co. Ltd., London, 1953, p.75.

2. Leenhardt, pp.8, 260.

3. Murray, Vol.II, p.38.

4. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

5. Toy, p.141.

is a paraphrase of יְהוּדָא or is taken from another text (either of the LXX or of the Hebrew).¹ However, Sanday and Headlam think that:

"Paul inverts the order of the clause so that the reference to τὸν οὖν λαόν μου, which seems particularly to suit the Gentiles, comes first, and for ἐρῶ substitutes καλέσω which naturally crept in from ἐκάλεσεν of the previous verse, and changes the construction of the clause to suit the new word."²

Leenhardt thinks that Paul substitutes καλέσω for ἐρῶ because he wanted to divest the personal names of those involved originally, of their symbolic meaning.³ The insertion of καί in the LXX is a free translation or represents an additional Hebrew word (אֵל) .⁴

Paul in quoting Hosea 1:10 quotes it almost verbatim from the LXX.⁵ The only difference between the two texts is the insertion by Paul of ἐκεῖ after ὑμεῖς, and the omission of καὶ αὐτοὶ

before υἱοί. The insertion of ἐκεῖ seems to emphasize the idea of place, but it is difficult to understand what place is intended.⁶ Johannes Munck argues strongly that the ἐκεῖ "is a natural designation for Palestine, in order to imply that the Gentile nations will gather in Jerusalem and the Messianic Kingdom will be established there (cf. 11:26)."⁷ Nevertheless Meyer is right I believe in applying it to "the locality of the Gentiles, the Gentile lands."⁸ ἐκεῖ may be implied in the Hebrew. The LXX is a literal rendering of the Hebrew.

1. Toy, p.141.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.264.

3. Leenhardt, p.260.

4. Toy, p.141.

5. Meyer, Vol.II, p.156.

6. Sanday and Headlam, p.46.

7. Munck, pp.12, 72.

8. Meyer, Vol.II, p.156.

C.H. Dodd believes that Paul "must have followed a precanonical tradition which recognized this prophecy of Hosea as a testimonium."¹ However he does not elaborate or provide evidence to support his claim.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

Midrash and Talmud

Though there are several references in the Midrash to Hosea 1:10; 2:23² there are few that are really helpful. In Numbers³ there seems to be a literal and historical interpretation given for these verses. The interpretation is that it refers to Israel, while Paul interprets it to mean the Gentiles.

Of the three places mentioning Hosea 1:10; 2:23 in the Talmud, two give these verses a literal interpretation and refer it to Israel as does the Midrash.⁴ Strack-Billerbeck indicates one interpretation given as "I will pity those who are not loved because of their works"⁵ indicating that election is based on works. He says that Paul's use of the citation is like that found in Rabbinic literature. He remarks: "Der Apostel hat die Verse Hos. 2:25 und 2:1 in Röm. 9,25f. so miteinander verknüpft, als ob im Grundtext eine Stelle bildeten. Dergleichen findet sich auch in der rabbinischen Literatur...."

1. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.75.

2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, pp.151, 458, 553; Numbers, pp.41, 44, 46, 49, 54, 327, 749, 826; Leviticus, p.413; Song of Solomon, p.283.

3. Ibid; Numbers, pp.54, 826.

4. The Babylonian Talmud, Yoma, p.100; Kiddushin, p.177; Pesahim, pp.4, 620f.

5. Strack-Billerbeck, p.272f. The Targum for Hosea 2:1 reads: "Und geschehen wird es, an dem Ort, wo sie unter die Völker verbannt wurden, als sie die Tora übertraten, u. wo zu ihnen gesagt wurde: "Nicht mein Volk seid ihr", werden sie wieder gross gemacht werden, dass zu ihnen gesagt werden wird: "Volk des ewig bleibenden Gottes."

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

It is evident that Hosea has not the Gentile world but the ten tribes of Israel¹ in mind in the context of these two citations. Both citations contain a prophecy that Israel,² whom God has rejected and called "not My people", will in the future be received back again and be called "My people".³ "It was not the heathen, but the idolatrous people of the ten tribes, whose pardon and renewed adoption was thus announced."⁴ Vaughan remarks on "Those predictions which in their first meaning spoke of the recovery and reconciliation of the national Israel..."⁵ Most commentators would agree that the subject of these words in Hosea was the ten tribes of Israel.

Paul, "the apostle, having laid down his doctrine concerning God's sovereignty in choosing and saving whom He will, and having shown that God exercised that sovereignty in the very dawn of the history of the Jewish people, proceeds to show from the prophets that it was to be expected that in the latter days the Most High would continue to act according to the good pleasure of His own Will."⁶

Paul seeks to prove⁷ that God "is at liberty to select the objects of his mercy indiscriminately from among the Jews and Gentiles"⁸ by quoting, in Rabbinic form, from these two passages in Hosea.⁹ Paul is not concerned, as is usual with him, with the context or with the historical situation of the OT passages, nor does it concern him that these words were spoken concerning the ten tribes of Israel. Commentators usually agree that Paul applies these words of Hosea to the

1. Plummer, p.490.

2. Nygren, p.373.

3. Alford, p.412; Denney, EGT, p.665.

4. Liddon, p.171.

5. Vaughan, p.184.

6. Plummer, p.489.

7. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.72.

8. Hodge, p.326.

9. Sanday and Headlam, p.264. Shedd, p.301.

Gentiles but there are differing opinions as to the reasoning behind Paul's general application of a specific statement. However, I think most commentators¹ would agree with Vine, who puts it very succinctly; he says:

"The apostle shows that in the mind of the Spirit the promise embraces Gentiles, who would be brought into God's favour through the instrumentality of the Gospel, this being in accordance with the principles set forth in Hosea's prophecy. Since Israel had placed themselves on a level with the Gentiles by their departure from God it is both reasonable and compatible with God's mercy that in recalling a remnant of Israel from their alienated state He should call in others also who are as Israel had become, not His people."²

Morrison says that Paul is warranted in applying these passages to the Gentiles because of their "inherent applicability to both" (i.e. Jews and Gentiles)³ Sanday and Headlam say that Paul "applies the principle which underlies these words, that God can take into His Covenant those who were previously cut off from it, to the calling of the Gentiles."⁴ There is little doubt therefore, that Paul interprets these words as containing a principle which is applicable to "all those whose character and circumstances are the same that what is said of one class of heathen, as such, is applicable to all others."⁵ Paul, therefore, spiritualizes and extends the thought of Hosea.⁶ Hosea, no doubt, thought only of the ten tribes of Israel, but Paul sees here a wider principle, and something more is meant than

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1. Hodge, p.326; Morrison, p.162; Sanday and Headlam, pp.263-264; Shedd, p.301, etc.
 2. Vine, p.149.
 3. Morrison, p.162.
 4. Sanday and Headlam, p.264.
 5. Hodge, pp.326-327.
 6. Toy, p.141.

Hosea had in mind. Vaughan says of this citation that in Paul it "had a further and yet more literal fulfilment in the first introduction into God's Church of those Gentiles who were once aliens and outcasts altogether."¹ Paul interprets these verses literally, as do the Rabbis, but gives them wider scope than they possess in the OT context. Lindars notes the important fact that "the remnant series of Romans nine is introduced by a quotation which is not actually a remnant text, but demonstrably belongs to the more fundamental sect-type doctrine of the church. ... In itself this passage guarantees the Christian claim to be the people of God . without the necessity of proving continuity with the old Israel."²

1. Vaughan, p.184.

2. Lindars, p.242.

ROMANS 9:27-28THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:27-28

Ἡσυχίας κρύπτει

ἐὰν ᾗ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης,
τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται· λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ποιήσεται
κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 10:22-23

כי אם יהיה עמך ישראל כחול הים שאר ישוב בו כליון
חרוצ שוטף צדקה: כי כלה ונחרצה אדני יהוה צבאות עשה
בקרב כל הארצ:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 10:22-23

ארי אם יהי עמך ישראל סגי כחלא דימא שאר דלא חטו
ודתבו מחטאה יתעבדן להון גבורן דמתגברן ומידברן בזכו:
ארי גמירא ושיצאה יהוה אלהים צבאות עביד עם כל רשיעי
ארעא:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 10:22-23

καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ
κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται· λόγον συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιο-
οσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντετεμμένον ποιήσεται κύριος ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη.

1. Stenning, pp.38-39.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Isaiah is Paul's favourite source of quotations and is cited in all 25 times and 16 of these 25 are in Romans. But the prophet is mentioned by name only five times, all in Romans.¹ This IF of Rom. 9:27 is used only this once by Paul and by no other NT writer.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

ὑπόλειμμα is read κατάλειμμα with the LXX by Codices p46, the Koine (H,L,) family of texts, D, G, E, F, C, K, P,² and most other MSS,³ nevertheless, since ὑπόλειμμα is supported by \aleph , A, B, this reading is perhaps the original reading. συντέμνων is supported by Codices p46 seemingly, \aleph^* A, B, 1739, 1881, Syriac Peshitta, Sahidic, Boharic and Ethiopic versions, Origen, Eusebius in two-thirds of his references, Augustine, and John^{of} Damascus. Codex 2127 reads συντετμημένον for συντέμνων. Codices 81, and 436, interpolate ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ after συντέμνων. Codices \aleph^c , D, G, K, P, Ψ and the majority of other texts all interpolate ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον after συντέμνων.⁴ The evidence is weighted in favour of συντέμνων alone as the correct reading. These MSS may have been altered to agree with the LXX.⁵

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

יהוה צבאות is omitted by Origen in his Hexapla.⁶

1. Romans, 9:27-29; 10:16,20; 15:12.

2. Sanday and Headlam believe the later MSS may have been altered to agree with the LXX, p.265.

3. Nestle and Aland.

4. UBS, The Greek New Testament.

5. Sanday and Headlam, p.265.

6. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

b. Septuagint Text

Isa. 10:22,23. γένηται is read γενηθή by Codex 26; Codex 88 omits ὁ before λαός ; σου is added after λαός by the Lucian versions 46, 233, 456, Boharic versions, the Syriac version in the margin is in agreement with the MT, and Theodotion. τοῦ is added by Codices 26, 301, Sahidic versions, and Theodoretus; ὡς ἡ is read ὥσει by Codices 26, and 301, it is read ὡσεὶ by Codex 544. αὐτῶν is added before σωθήσεται by Codex S (K), Origen's Hexapla, Codex Q margin, Lucian recensions 46, 233, 546, and others. γάρ is omitted by Codex B and the Syriac Hexapla; δικαιοσύνη is read δικαιοσύνην by some versions in accordance with the MT. In verse 23 θεός is read Κύριος by Origen's Hexapla, Codex Q margin, Syriac Palestinian version, Eusebius, Basil, Tertullian, and the Syriac Hexapla. Codex 88 reads κύριος κύριος δυνάμεων so does Codex C, however, C adds κοιήσεται after δυνάμεων . θεός is omitted entirely by Codex 93; ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη is read ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς by Tertullian, Codices 309, and 538, omit ὅλη .¹

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Isaiah 10:22,23 occurs in a chapter given over largely to a prediction of judgment upon Assyria, the rod of God's anger in the punishment of Israel. Verses 5-19 speak of the Assyrians as instruments in God's hand who will be punished because of their pride. Then occurs a prophetic section, (verses 20-27), in which a remnant of Israel shall be saved from destruction and shall return unto the mighty God. It is in this context that our two verses are set.

1. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14; Isaiah, p.162.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

In this loose quotation¹ Paul substitutes ἐὰν ἢ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ~~μὲν~~ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ for the καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ of the LXX. This is a change, more in form than in sense, possibly to express the point of a great number of people at large in contrast to the ὑπόλειμμα.² He substitutes ὑπόλειμμα for κατάλειμμα of the LXX. He omits αὐτῶν after κατάλειμμα and adds γάρ before συντελῶν. The whole next clause ἐν..... συντετμημένον is omitted. In the last clause he substitutes ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς for ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ. Thus he substitutes in three places and omits a great deal of the two verses as found in the LXX. כִּי is understood by the LXX as a return to Palestine translated by σωθήσεται, which Paul retains in its Christian sense, but it represents an interpretation of the Hebrew text both by the LXX and by Paul.³

It might be noted that the LXX differs a great deal from the Hebrew. It seems apparent that the translators of the LXX did not understand the Hebrew text.⁴ They were unable to translate the third line of the Hebrew adequately. Liddon says of the LXX here:

"The LXX sometimes renders כִּי by συντέμνειν (Isa. 28:22). And, the voices being, as often, changed, συντέμνων represents כִּי while כִּלִּין properly, 'wasting away' is translated by λόγον in the sense of decree although 'utterance' is a better rendering. But how is συντελῶν to be accounted for? Possibly, as an attempt to exhaust the idea of כִּלִּין, so imperfectly represented by λόγον. הַטִּיט however is wholly untranslated; unless the LXX be supposed to have read טִיט. The LXX may have thought that the sense was sufficiently expressed in and συντελῶν."⁵

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1. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament, p.400.
 2. Liddon, p.172.
 3. Leenhardt, p.261.
 4. Meyer, Vol.II, p.158. Sanday and Headlam, p.265.
 5. Liddon, p.173.

However this may be, Paul reproduces substantially the meaning of the LXX text.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

Qumran Literature

Svend Holm-Nielsen believes that there is a reference to Isa. 10:23 in the Hodayot (1QH) Psalm 6, Column 3:36.¹ However it is vague, to say the least, and offers us no help as to how this verse was ordinarily used by the Qumran community.

De Waard points out that the MT is the same as the 1QISa^a text here, but that 1QISa^b has a lacuna here for Isaiah 10:22,23.² Wernberg-Møller also thinks there is a reference to Isa. 10:22,23 in 1QS 4:20,25.³ Fragments of the Commentary on Isaiah (4Q pIsa) have been found at Qumran. They begin with Isa. 10:22 and end at 11:15. The text is very mutilated so that there is little that can be learned about the interpretation of Isa. 10:22,23.⁴

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The words here spoken by Isaiah originally referred to the return of a remnant of Israel from captivity⁵ and probably belong to the period which preceded the destruction of Israel by Assyria under Teglath-pileser,⁶ or perhaps Sennacherib⁷ or Sargon.⁸ These words

1. S. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, Psalms from Qumran, Universitetsforlaget I, Aarhus, 1960, p.65; see also Menahem Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1961, p.121.
2. De Waard, p.6.
3. P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1957, p.27.
4. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, Trans. Basil Blackwell, Meridian Books, The World Publishing Co., New York, 1961, p.275.
5. Stiffler, p.178; Alford, Vol.II, p.413.
6. Liddon, p.173.
7. Leenhardt, p.260.
8. Toy, p.143.

probably refer to the physical salvation of a remnant, that is, only a few Jews will remain alive and return to Palestine. Nothing is said about the destiny of those who perish in the invasion, subjugation, captivity and return of the Jews to Palestine. The deliverance spoken of is of a political deliverance of a remnant of Israel.¹

The spiritual aspect, while perhaps not altogether lacking, is not the dominant idea in the mind of Isaiah; he is thinking primarily about the physical deliverance of the Jews, that only a remnant will be delivered. The OT citation of verses 25-26 prove the election of a part of the Gentiles; Paul, in verses 28-29 uses another OT citation to prove the reprobation of a part of the Jews.² Paul is simply proving that a large number of the lineal descendants of Jacob were not saved. And by so doing he indicates that God did not accept as His own those who had no faith and piety. He indicates as well that no promise made to the fathers bound Him to save those who lived faithless lives,³ it meant that multitudes would be lost and this, of course, is what Paul wishes to establish by the use of this citation.⁴

Paul cites these verses from Isaiah 10:22-23 without reference to their context or historical connection.⁵ The original reference in Isaiah was only to the Assyrian invasion, but Paul sees that it is applicable to the situation which obtained between the Jews and the Messianic Age.⁶ He sees the citation "as a general statement of Israel's spiritual fortunes"⁷ especially in regard to the attitude of the Jews to the Gospel. Morrison says:

1. Arnold and Ford, p.236.

2. Shedd, pp.301-302.

3. Plummer, p.492.

4. Barnes, p.205.

5. Toy, p.148.

6. Stiffler, p.178.

7. Toy, p.148.

"At the expression, shall be saved, the apostle, as distinguished from the prophet, steps over the line that separates in this prophecy relationships material from relationships spiritual. It is spiritual salvation of which he thinks."¹

The conclusion to which Paul came was that it was God's intention to reject and cast off the Jews as having a special standing before Him; that this was in accordance with their own history and prophecies;² that this was true even more on the spiritual level than on the physical. "God has not completely rejected his people; there is still a remnant in the present church, that is, in the time between the Jews' refusal of the Gospel and their ultimate salvation."³

1. Morrison, p.163.

2. Munck, p.73; also Barnes p.205.

3. Munck, p.74.

ROMANS 9:29THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:29

καθὼς προσείρκαεν Ἰσραῆλ,

εἰ μὴ κύριος Σαβαώθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὥς Σόδομα ἃν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὥς Γόμορρα ἃν ὁμοιωθήμεν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 1:9

לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד כמעט כסדם היינו
לעמרה דמינו

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 1:9

אילו לא פון מותר טוביה דיהוה צבאות אשאר לנא שיזבא
ברחמיה אית עימנא חובין דכאנש סדום פון אבדנא וכיתבי עמרה
אשתיצינא

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 1:9

καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαώθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὥς Σόδομα
ἃν ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ ὥς Γόμορρα ἃν ὁμοιωθήμεν.

1. Stenning, pp.4,5.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

As in Romans 9:27, Paul again cites from Isaiah by using Isaiah the prophet's name in a formula that is used only this once in Paul's writings or in other NT books. In 9:27 he connects Isaiah with $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ and elsewhere he connects Isaiah with $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ but here he uses the verb $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ in the perfect tense. In all the other places where he refers to Isaiah he uses the present tense. The perfect is perhaps used to express the punctiliar-durative idea and has the force of "the statement is on record" by Isaiah.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Codex 17⁽³³⁾₁ adds δ θεός after κύριος. $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ is read by Codices K, D, E, F, and G. $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ is read by A, B, K, L, P, and others. $\omega\mu\iota\omega\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ is read by K, B, D, E, K, and other MSS. $\delta\mu\iota\omega\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ is read by A, G, F, L, P, and a few other MSS.² Codex 7(1874) of von Soden's $I\alpha^1$ group of MSS omit $\kappa\alpha\iota$ at the beginning of the verse. $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is read $\kappa\alpha\theta' \acute{\omega}\nu$ by Codex 1066⁽¹⁹¹²⁾₁ and $\kappa\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ is read $\epsilon\ddot{\iota}\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ by Codices 1066⁽¹⁹¹²⁾ and δ 180^(1319, 2127)₁ which are in his $I\alpha^3$ group of MSS. Codex H δ 48 (33) adds δ θεός before Σαβῶθ. Σαβῶθ^(506, 203) is read δ θεός by Codices δ 101f₁ (Ic_2 group) and δ 402₁ (K^r group). $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ is read without the initial prefix ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$) by Codices δ 259⁽³³⁰⁾ and δ 368⁽⁸¹³⁾ of his $I\alpha_3$ and Ib_2 groups respectively.³

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

The LXX, Old Latin, Syriac Polyglot and the Vulgate all perhaps delete וְיָמַח .⁴

1. Robertson, Grammar of the Greek New Testament, p.895.

2. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

3. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.678.

4. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

b. Septuagint Text

For $\sigma\upsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\omega}\theta$ Aquila, Codices Q, 710, and Hilary in his Latin have $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$. Symmachus, Theodotion, Codices Q, and 710, have $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\delta\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\mu\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ although Codex 710 omits the $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. Codex 710 reads $\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\mu\alpha$ with Aquila for $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$. $\Gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\rho\alpha$ is read $\Gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\alpha$ by Codices 26, 377, 46, and 534.¹ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ is read $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ by Codex $\aleph^{c,b}$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$ by Codices A, Q, P, and F. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ is read $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ by Codex A. $\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ is read $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ by Codices A, Q*, and P, although Q^a reads with Codex B.²

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

At least the first 24 verses of Isaiah chapter one are given over to an indictment of Israel. Israel knows less than the ox for an ox knows his owner, but Israel does not know her Lord. Israel is stricken in grievous personal and national sin. God has punished Israel, but Israel persists in her sin. God has continued to discipline Israel and the prophet says that unless God had left a small remnant the whole of Israel would have been consumed as was Sodom and Gomorrah. But for God's compassion all would have been destroyed.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul here, as in 9:15, drops the conjunction $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and then proceeds with a verbatim quotation, his ninth in Romans thus far.³ The LXX paraphrastically translates $\gamma\prime\gamma\prime$ with $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$. $\gamma\prime\gamma\prime$ does not mean, seed, but survivor, "one escaped from a great slaughter so as to be the parent of others."⁴ In Job 20:21 it means "a survival after a great slaughter." In Deut. 2:34 it means "a remnant

1. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14; Isaias.

2. Holmes and Parsons.

3. Meyer, Vol.II, p.161.

4. Gesenius.

which was but a mere trifle."¹ σπέρμα is used of a few survivors from whom a new generation will arise (cf. Wisdom 14:6 I Esdras 8:35, Josephus and others)² So, in Paul's teaching here "seed" and remnant have the same meaning.³ Also כמעט "little" is left untranslated by the LXX and by Paul unless it was felt that σπέρμα indicated smallness adequately as well as remnant. Thus here it would seem that Ellis is right when he says Paul agrees with the LXX against the Hebrew.⁴

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

The MT is the same here as the lQISa^a while lQISa^b has a lacuna.⁵

b. Midrash and Talmud

There is only one reference to Isaiah 1:9 in the Midrash Rabbah.⁶ It is not easy to see how the Midrash interprets this verse. Sufficient to say it is apparent that it is not in a literal or historical sense.

In the Talmud the reference here in Isaiah 1:9 to Sodom is to a warning against giving opportunity to Satan by speaking to him. It is so wide a departure from any literal meaning, or from the meaning Paul gives this verse, as to be of no help.⁷

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The picture that Isaiah paints of Israel is, indeed, a black one; Israel is as depraved as Sodom and Gomorrah, cities annihilated

1. Liddon, p.174.

2. Arndt and Gingrich.

3. Murray, Vol.II, p.41.

4. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

5. De Waard, p.6.

6. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Song of Solomon, pp.315-355.

7. The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth, pp.166, 376; Kethuboth, p.40.

for their utter depravity. None survived in them. So it would have been in Israel's case except for the grace and sovereign election by God of a very small remnant. God's election destroyed none, it was only due to His grace that any were spared at all. The covenant name Jehovah is not used alone in this passage, perhaps because they had broken the Covenant with God. But the compound name, Lord of Hosts, (יהוה צבאות) is used perhaps because God speaks not as the God in covenant with Israel, but as sovereign Lord of the Universe.¹ This statement of Isaiah's is not prophetic but descriptive of the condition of contemporary society in Israel.² This passage speaks both of spiritual and temporal judgment upon Israel.³

Paul's interpretation of this verse corresponds to his interpretation of the citation in the previous two verses. His purpose is also the same. He wants to show that just being an Israelite was not enough to exempt one from the Divine judgment or guarantee enjoyment of the Divine favour. The passage proves that the Israelites were as much exposed to the judgment of God as the Gentiles and so could lay no claim to special treatment.⁴ Yet at the same time, God has manifested His grace; "he sets aside the rebellious, but not to reduce them to nothing."⁵ He graciously elects a remnant which consoles by assuring "that God's promises have not lapsed."⁶ His grace is the ultimate ground of election, the justification of His judgments.⁷ The basis of Paul's reasoning is that of analogy, he wants to illustrate a principle of action on the part of God.

1. Stiffler, p.179.

2. Lenski, p.632.

3. See Stuart, page 347 for a contrary view.

4. Hodge, p.328.

5. Leenhardt, p.261.

6. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.75.

7. Leenhardt, p.261.

What God did one time under certain circumstances He may do at another time under completely different circumstances if the same principle applies. In Isaiah God punishes Israel temporally for sins against Himself. And Paul sees the same principle involved in God's spiritual judgment upon Israel for sins against Himself.¹ So here Paul seemingly without regard for the context or historical situation takes a verse that refers to the physical or temporal judgment and applies it to the spiritual judgment of God upon Israel. His interpretation spiritualizes the verse² because he believes that God, the true author of Scripture, recorded this history of His temporal judgment upon Israel because it contained a principle of action which was also to be the principle of action at a later time, in the Messianic Age. Paul, too, in a sense took the citation literally. Just as there was a literal remnant of Israel left, so in the Christian Age there is a literal remnant of believing Jews. Paul's burning concern in Rom. 9-11 is to know how these Jews will stand in God's plan now that the Messiah has come and Jews have rejected Him and Gentiles are being brought in.

1. Stuart, p.347.

2. Toy, p.144.

ROMANS 9:33THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 9:33

καθὼς γέγραπται,

ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου,
καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῇ οὐ καταλισχυνθήσεται.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 8:14

(וְהָיָה לְמִקְדָּשׁ) וְלֵאבֶן נֶגֶף וְלִצְוֹר מִכְשׁוֹל לְשָׁנִי בְּתִי
יֵעָדָל (לִפְחָ וּלְמוֹקֵשׁ לְיוֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַם)

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 8:14

מִיִּמְרִיָּה בְּכוֹן לְפֹרְעָן וְלֵאבֶן מַחִי וְלִכְיָף מִתְקַל לְתַרְיִן

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 8:14

ἔσται σοι εἰς ἁγίασμα, καὶ οὐχ ὥς λίθου προσκόμματος συν-
αντήσεσθε οὐδὲ ὥς πέτρας πτώματι.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 28:16

הַנִּבִּי יִסֵּד בְּצִיּוֹן אֶבֶן אֶבֶן בַּחֵן פֶּנֶת יִקְרָת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד
הַמֵּאֲמִין לֹא יִחִישׁ

1. Stenning, pp.26-29.

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 28:16

יצדיקא דהימינו באלין במיתי קע לא יזעזעונו:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 28:16

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σειῶν λίθον πολυτελεῖ ἑκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνίατον ἔντιμον, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχυνηθῇ.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLEL PASSAGESI PETER 2:6

ἰδοὺ τῆθημι ἐν Σιῶν λίθον. ἑκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνίατον ἔντιμον, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ κατασχυνηθῇ.

I PETER 2:8

λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου.

ROMANS 10:11

ὅς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασχυνηθήσεται.

1. Stenning, pp.88-89.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Now for the first time since Romans 9:13 and for the ninth time in the letter so far Paul uses his favourite indefinite IF.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

καὶ is interpolated into the text before ὁ πιστεύων by Codices K, L, Ψ, P, many minuscules, the Byzantine Lectionaries, several old Latin versions, the Vulgate, Syriac Harclean, and Armenian versions, Didymus, Chrysostom, Jerome, Theodore etc. K, A, B, D, E, G, F, 81, 1881, Old Latin d*, e, f, g, Syriac Peshitta and Palestinian versions, Coptic Boharic, Sahidic, Gothic, Ethiopic versions, Origen, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, and John of Damascus, all omit καὶ.¹ Thus the MS evidence is overwhelmingly on the side of omitting καὶ. οὐ κατασχευθήσεται is read οὐ μὴ κατασχευθῇ by Codices D, E, F, and G.² Codices B* and 1026ff of von Soden's ^(DEG) H group and ^{(DGF) respectively} Ia₁ group of MSS^Λ read Σιών for Σιών, Codex^Λ A^Λ and 264 of the ^(02,917) Ia₁ group^Λ read Σιώ. Codex 33 adds λίθον ἀπρογωνιάιον ἔντιμον καὶ after λίθον. One MS adds only λίθον. Codex 506 of his ⁽³⁸⁵⁾ Ic₂ group^Λ omits καὶ before ὁ πιστεύων. ⁽¹⁸³⁰⁾ ἐπ' αὐτῷ is read εἰς αὐτόν by von Soden's Codex Ia₁ 65^Λ and the Vulgate. Codex 161 ⁽⁶³⁵⁾ of his Ib₁ group^Λ, in evident conflation, adds εἰς αὐτόν before ἐπ' αὐτῷ.³

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Seven MSS, the LXX, the old Latin, Syriac versions, Symmachus and the Targums all read לִיוֹשֵׁב for לִיוֹשֵׁב. Also וְלִמְרוֹקֶשׁ

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1. Nestle and Aland, UBS, The Greek New Testament.
 2. Tischendorf, Vol.II.
 3. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.678.

למקדש is perhaps to be read with the Targums instead of שלמקדש
of the MT.¹

In Isa. 28:16 יִסֵּד is read with the LXX, the Targums, and
the Syriac version as יִסֵּד.² 1QISa^b reads, in the only clearly
legible word which has been preserved in a very fragmentary text,
יִסֵּד. 1QISa^a reads מִיִּסֵּד.³ מִיִּסֵּד is perhaps to be de-
leted. It is omitted by the LXX Hexaplaric recension, and is put
in the fifth column of the Hexapla with an asterisk to indicate
that the word missing from the LXX is being supplied from the Heb-
rew.⁴ It is deleted in IQS and I Peter 2:8.⁵

b. Septuagint Text

οὐχ is read οὐκ by Codex S (κ) οὐδ by Codex 106
and Lucian recensions 311, 46, 233 and others. λίθου is read
λίθω by Codices 106, V, 311, 46, 233, 456, 764^c(θων), Coptic
version, Syriac version, Eusebius, and Hilary. προσκόμματα is
read προσκόμματος by Codices 301, 538, Coptic and Syriac ver-
sions, Eusebius and Hilary. αὐτῷ is omitted before οὐδέ in
Codex B, Origen's Hexapla, the Lucian recensions 311, 46, 233, 456,
C, 301, 393, and others, Syriac Hexapla and Theodoretus; it is added
by Codices κ, A and Q. οὐδέ is read οὐδ by Codex S (κ).
Codex 538 and the Sahidic version add λίθου after πέτρας.
πτώματι is read συμπτώματι by Codex 377.⁶

Aquila, Theodotion and Codex Q margin read εἰς λίθον προσ-
κόμματος. Codices κ, A, Q, add αὐτῷ after συναντήσεσθε,
οὐδὲ.....πτώματι is read εἰς στερὸν σκανδάλου by Aquila;

1. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

2. Ibid.

3. De Waard, p.54.

4. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

5. De Waard, p.57.

6. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14; Isaias.

Symmachus, and Theodotion read εἰς σκάνδαλον; εἰς πετρᾶ πτόματος is read by Q margin.¹

For θεμελία Aquila, Symmachus (Isa.28:16) Theodotion and Codex 86 have θεμελίων. For πολυτελή they have δοκιμον.² πολυτελή is missing in the quotation in I Peter.³ After αὐτῆς Q adds with an asterisk τεθεμελιωμένον. σπεύσει is read for καταισχυνθῆ by Codex Q and Eusebius. ἐπ' αὐτῷ is added after πιστεύων by K, A, Q, Codex 88⁴ and the Targum⁵ add it with an obelus. It is omitted by B, V, 83, 393, 538, the Syriac in agreement with the MT.⁶ ἐν αὐτῷ may be a rendering of the Targum's י'לכא.⁷

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The verse from Isaiah 8:14 which Paul cites here in Romans 9:33 comes in the midst of a prediction of the Assyrian invasion in the seventh century B.C. and the verse speaks of God being against both houses of Israel because of their desire for a confederacy with Syria against Assyria. The idea of the verse is that God will work against Israel to bring them into captivity.

In the citation from Isaiah 28:16 there is much the same context. It occurs in a prophetic section which predicts the Assyrian captivity of Ephraim because of their reliance upon a confederacy with other nations rather than reliance upon God. Verse sixteen, our citation, comes suddenly into the prophetic utterance and contains perhaps more a warning than a prediction of future blessing, though blessing as well as justice is implied.

1. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II. Swete, The Old Testament in Greek.

2. Ibid.

3. De Waard, p.57.

4. Ibid, p.56. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Vol.III, Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14; Isaias.

5. cf. Johnson, pp.45-46. Ziegler, Ibid.

6. Ziegler, Ibid.

7. De Waard, p.56.

These two prophetic passages are addressed to disobedient and unbelieving Israel in a time of national calamity, and in both citations God is commanding the people of Israel to look to Him for redemption from their enemies. In chapter 28 after denouncing those, who in drunkenness scorn trust in God, and the rulers of both Samaria and Jerusalem, God declares that he will set in Jerusalem a solid and sure foundation of hope, and prosperity, namely, Himself and His word, in which whoever believes shall be safe. In chapter 8:- Isaiah is exhorting Israel to abandon all worldly help and depend upon God. He declares further that the God whom they reject will bring stumbling and calamity upon them. The fundamental ideas in these two passages are very similar and so can easily be conflated as they are by Paul here.¹

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

Here is a very clear case of the conflation² of Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16. Paul begins his citation with the *ἰδοὺ* of Isaiah 28:16, then substitutes *τίθημι ἐν* for *ἐμβάλλω* and in the process drops out the personal pronoun *ἐγώ*. He also omits *εἰς τὰ θεμέλια*

He includes the *λίθον* of Chapter 28:16 omitting the whole clause from *πολυτελή* through *αὐτῆς*.³ He then goes to Isaiah 8:14 and omitting the *καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου* he uses the *προσκόμματι*, changing the case for grammatical reasons. Omitting the *σύναντησεσθε οὐδὲ ὡς* of 8:14 he adds the conjunction *καὶ* before *πέτραν* which is the *πέτρας* of the LXX with the case changed

1. Toy, p.146.

2. Dodd, According to Scriptures, p.42. Especially Lindars, pp. 177-79.

3. cf. MT, 1QISa^a.

for grammatical reasons. The πτόματι of 8:14 is changed to σκανδάλου, the usual LXX rendering for מְכַשָּׁל.¹ Then Paul takes the last clause of 28:16 to end his citation changing only καταισχυνθῇ for καταισχυνθήσεται and omitting μή. However, he weakens the clause somewhat by using the single negative οὐ "not" against the stronger double negative οὐ μή "never" of the LXX which, however, is not an accurate rendering of the Hebrew לֹא יִחִישׁ.²

The LXX departs quite widely from the Hebrew in Isaiah 28:16. πολυτελέῃ seems to be meant as a rendering for the doubling of the Hebrew אֶבֶן אֶבֶן, the ἑλεγκτόν seems to be the rendering for בָּחַן or more probably for a different text word.³ The εἰς τὰ θεμέλια is an interpretation or paraphrase of the Hebrew. The ἐκ' αὐτῶ is an interpretation which follows on from

הַמַּאמִּין. However, it seems admissible, for the Targums add "upon him or it" here as the necessary object of הַמַּאמִּין.⁴

Toy seems correct in saying:

"from its appearance in both Romans and Peter and the Targums it may be supposed to be a familiar reading of that day, derived, probably, from a synagogue interpretation."⁵

καταισχυνθῇ stands for יִחִישׁ "flee quickly" or "make haste". They may have read יְבוֹשׁ or more probably, they may have paraphrased יִחִישׁ so as to give the motive or moral accompaniment of הַמַּאמִּין.⁶ Paul keeps closer to the Hebrew both in 8:14 and

1. Liddon, p.176.

2. Boise, p.92.

3. Toy, pp.45-146.

4. Johnson, p.46; Toy, p.146.

5. Toy, p.146. Though Meyer says that the LXX have apparently deviated from the MT Hebrew. He feels it is not a translation of יְבוֹשׁ but a mistranslation rendered according to the approximate sense of יִחִישׁ, Vol.II. p.166.

6. Liddon, p.176; Sanday and Headlam, p.281.

28:16 than does the LXX. The LXX usually renders לַחֲטָאִים by σκάνδαλον, offence, which is the word Paul substitutes for πτώματι, falling, of the LXX here. Paul seems to differ from both the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary.¹

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Parallel Passages

1. Peter 2:6-8

Both Paul and Peter reject the LXX reading of ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμελίαι Σιών for ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών, While Paul substitutes λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου of Isaiah 8:14 for λίθον πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον, Peter retains it but leaves out πολυτελῆ. Peter follows the LXX for the rest of Isaiah 28:16 differing with Paul in using the double negative of οὐ μή.

εἰς τὰ θεμελίαι αὐτῆς is omitted by both Paul and Peter. The quotation from Isaiah 8:14 in Peter, does not come directly after Isaiah 28:16 as in Paul but comes after a quotation from Psalm 118:22 which is placed between the two quotations. The text of Isaiah 8:14, however, is the same as in Romans 9:33, except that the words are in a different case for grammatical reasons.

Toy says of I Peter 2:6-8:- "Peter keeps the two passages apart, following the LXX closely in the first, but the Aramaic version, which renders the Hebrew accurately, in the second."² There seems little doubt that there was an Aramaic version known in Palestine which was used in the synagogues after the reading of the Hebrew Scriptures in order that the common people should better understand what was read. Though this is no doubt true, yet there is no

1. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

2. Toy, p.145.

evidence here, nor does Toy give any evidence to substantiate his claim, that this difference from the LXX is due to an Aramaic version, which both Peter and Paul knew and used. It has been pointed out that Peter may have been acquainted with Paul's letter to the Romans. Atkinson thinks that "this means one passage is dependent upon the other, or that both are dependent upon a single source."¹ Hort in his Commentary on I Peter thinks that Peter is dependent upon Paul.² Rendel Harris thinks both are dependent upon a Testimony book, while others have argued for dependence upon a "rhythmical hymn."³ However, what seems more likely is that what both Peter and Paul used was some collection of OT texts arranged according to their subjects, as were the later "Testimonies".⁴ Gaster seems to be wrong when he says Peter uses Isa. 28:16 in the same sense as IQS 8:7, that is in referring to the community.⁵ Though Peter refers to the individual members of the Church as "lively stones" when he refers to "the chief corner stone" according to the context he undoubtedly refers to Christ.⁶ Lindars feels that the passage is addressed to the newly baptized. The believers have been initiated into Christ. Their relation to Christ is expressed in the figure of a building. They are stones built into the building. The death of Christ represents the rejected stone. His resurrection represents the placing of the rejected stone at the head of the corner. The foundation of the whole metaphor is

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1. B.F.C. Atkinson, The Textual Background of the Use of the Old Testament in the New, Victoria Institute, 1947, p.51. See also E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of Peter, Macmillan & Co., London, 1946, p.272.
 2. F.J.A. Hort, The First Epistle of St. Peter, I:1 - II:17, Macmillan & Co., London, 1898, p.116.
 3. Selwyn, p.268; Atkinson, p.51.
 4. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, p.143; Sanday and Headlam, p.282, seemingly also Lindars, pp.177-83.
 5. Theo. Gaster, The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect, Secker and Warburg, London, 1957, p.108.
 6. cf. Boise, p.92; Murray, p.44; Leenhardt, p.213, and others.

the idea of Christ as the stone (Ps.118:22) in connection with the death and resurrection. Therefore Isaiah 28:16 is used by the writer as a comment upon this relationship. The writer works in Isaiah 8:14 because of its comment upon Isaiah 28:16 and because it comes in well as a warning against apostasy. Thus for homiletical purposes the writer is generalizing an argument which belongs to the controversy between Jew and Gentile. This passage in Peter seems to be the first place where the stone is identified with the person of Christ.¹

2. Romans 10:11

This is a quotation from Isa. 28:16 and is identical in every way with its counter-part in Rom. 9:33 except for the inclusion of $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ at the beginning.

b. Post-Apostolic Fathers

A reference to Isa. 8:14 and 28:16 occurs in Barnabas 6:2,3. However, this sixth chapter of Barnabas is difficult because it contains a catena of OT quotations after the Rabbinic fashion of giving one quotation after another with little or no comment for each passage quoted. It is an example of allegorical method of interpreting Scripture as well. Scripture, according to this method of interpretation is full of "secret things" and requires "wisdom" to understand.² Consequently it sheds but little light on how these OT passages were understood in their historical and literal meaning by the average Christian of this era.

c. Qumran Literature

Reference to Isa. 28:16 is found in IQS 8:7,8 and to 28:16 and 8:14 in I Peter 2:6,8. There is a strong similarity between the

1. Lindars, pp.179-80.

2. John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1961, p.207.

quotation of Isaiah 28:16 in Romans and I Peter 2:6. There are only a few minor differences and these are brought about because I Peter 2:6 has Isaiah 8:14 quoted separately in 2:8 while it is conflated with Isaiah 28:16 in Romans. De Waard agrees with Dodd in believing that these two texts do not depend on one another but that they represent the "common use of an already existing testimony."¹ He believes also that the author of I Peter 2:6 must have known and used a Midrash of Isaiah 28:16.² The quotation of Isa. 8:14 in I Peter 2:8 is "identical with that of the same quotation in Romans 9:33, so that a common text tradition can be established."³

1QS 8:7 refers to Isa. 28:16 but gives it a different interpretation from the Targums. The Targums, like Paul, give it a Messianic interpretation,⁴ but 1QS makes it refer to the eschatological community. Wernberg-Møller says of this passage:

"the biblical אבן having been replaced by חרמה. The replacement is due to the fact that our author interpreted the biblical passage as alluding to the community and naturally wanted a word for something consisting of more than one stone."⁵

Leaney cites O. Betz as discussing this passage carefully and showing that it is based upon Isaiah 28:16 where it is taken out of its context to refer to the community. The stone laid by God becomes a building, that is, the community grounded in truth and holy in character.⁶ That the author of 1QS 8:- interprets Isa. 28:16 as having reference to the Qumran Community is apparent, for it reads according to Gaster:

1. De Waard, pp.57-58, also Braun, p.182, and Lindars, pp.177-183.
2. De Waard, p.60.
3. Ibid, p.61.
4. Wernberg-Møller, p.126.
5. Ibid, p.126.
6. A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1966, pp.215-216.

"The council of the community ... a holy house consisting of Israel ... a most holy congregation ... chosen by (divine) pleasure to atone for the earth ... is the tested wall, the costly corner stone.

The members of the community will be in all justice the witnesses of God's truth and the elect of His favor, effecting atonement for the earth and ensuring the requital of the wicked. They will be, indeed, a 'tested bulwark' and a 'precious corner stone' which shall never be shaken or moved from their place."¹

There is also a reference to Isa. 28:16 in 1QH Psalm 6:26.

Though the text is faulty it seems to refer to God the one who gives steadfastness and meaning to life.² Herbert Braun says of this citation: "Jes. 28,16f werde in 1QH 6,26f auf die Qumrangemeinde ausgelegt, so erschienen die Steine des Zitats im demokratisierten Plural, für Paulus sei der Stein des Zitates Christus."³

De Waard thinks that Carmignac has shown that 1QS 2:8 contains a reference to Isa. 8:14.⁴ The text here is so vague that it is difficult to see how it would throw any light on Romans 9:33.

d. Midrash and Talmud

There are only two⁵ references to Isa. 28:16 in Midrash Rabbah.

In both cases Isaiah 28:16 comes only incidentally in the passage which points to the sovereignty of God in the rebuilding of the temple with "other stones" after the destruction of the temple and the carrying away of the treasures by Shishak King of Egypt. The Midrash gives no Messianic interpretation whatever to Isa. 28:16 and for this reason differs widely from the Messianic interpretation that

1. T.H. Gaster, p.65.

2. Holm-Nielsen, p.102; also Menahem Mansoor, The Tanksgiving Hymns, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1961, p.145.

3. Braun, p.182.

4. De Waard, p.61.

5. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Leviticus, p.222; Deuteronomy, p.183.

Paul gives this verse in Romans.

There is only one reference to Isa. 8:14 in the Talmud¹ where it is used to support a prophecy of the fall of both houses of Israel by Judah and Hezekiah sons of Rabbi Hiyya. This is a quite different interpretation from that of the Midrash and of Paul.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This composite citation of Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16 refers in the original text to God and to the Messiah respectively.² In the former passage God Himself is the stone of stumbling and rock of offense. "The Lord of Hosts shall be ... for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offense to both houses of Israel ..." The thought is that God Himself will cause those who want a confederacy, rather than depend upon Him for protection, to stumble and go into captivity to the Assyrians. This speaks of physical and temporal enslavement which God brings upon Israel through the Assyrians as His instrument. There does not seem to be any literal Messianic reference here although it is referred to Christ by NT writers. In the latter passage the stone is laid by the Lord God. An unbelieving faction of the people wanted to enter into alliance with Egypt against Assyria. In opposition to this faction God declares that He will lay a foundation stone in Zion which most commentators take to mean the Messiah,³ as it has been taken to mean by the Jews themselves, Paul, Peter and Christians generally. It must refer to the setting up of a leader, king, prophet or some such person. So, strictly speaking, Sanday and Headlam are right in saying that: "In the OT neither of

1. The Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin, p.238.

2. Liddon, p.177.

3. Liddon, p.176; Hodge, p.331.

these passages has any direct Messianic reference."¹ It is evident that Isaiah is not speaking literally but metaphorically here, as in Isaiah 8:14.

Paul is pointing out that when God declared that He should be a sanctuary to some and a rock of offense to others, He meant that in the person of His Messiah some would be blessed because of faith and others would stumble because of unbelief. He would be received and believed in by some and rejected and despised by others. The whole spirit of the Jews was antagonistic to the Messiah. He was therefore to them, a stumbling-block. They could not receive Him as their Messiah because of preconceived ideas. Therefore these prophecies were fulfilled in their rejection of Christ which resulted in their excision from the people of God.² The change of verb and the omission of "the foundations" are both due to the same interpretative motive. Paul wants to avoid placing the stone in the foundation beneath the ground level. The stone is placed on the ground so as to become a stumbling-stone in the way of the unwary. The interpretation would be without value unless it was connected with the stumbling-stone of Isaiah 8:14. So it seems certain that the phrases of Isaiah 8:14 were always used in conjunction with the peshet text of Isaiah 28:16, so as to indicate scriptural warranty that the stone is precious to those who believe, but a cause for stumbling to those who do not.

The conflated text of Romans 9:33 makes exactly the same double application. The stone here is emphasized chiefly as a stumbling-stone, but nevertheless those who believe are safe. For Paul

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.281.

2. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.80; Hodge, p.331.

the stone is not Christ, but a vivid poetic image. The consequence of belief in Christ is like a precious stone in your way. If you see it and accept it you have something of exceptional value. If you are blind and reject it then it causes you to fall.

Paul has applied this to the controversy between Jew and Gentile. The Jews as a nation stumble because they trust in the works of the Law. The Gentiles respond in faith and so receive that which is precious to their souls, salvation. Thus Paul selects these two "stone" texts from Isaiah to deal with the problem of unbelief among the Jews.¹

Paul does not mention the context or the historical connection of these two passages cited. Of course the passages are metaphorical and Paul interprets according to the sense of stumbling mentally or spiritually rather than physically. Paul gives the passage in Isa. 28:16 a Messianic reference as does the Targum: "I will appoint in Zion a king, a strong king, powerful and terrible."² Though this is true, Hodge seems to be somewhat presumptuous in declaring that:

"This passage is properly quoted by the apostle, because it was intended originally to apply to Christ."³

It may have this meaning but it could also have referred to another charismatic leader.

Paul then interprets these citations without reference to their context or historical connection and interprets metaphorically

1. Lindars, pp.177-178.

2. Stenning, p.88.

3. Hodge, p.331. The whole problem of the OT's witness to Christ is touched upon here. Did the prophets foresee Christ, or do we from our Christocentric standpoint interpret the OT prophecies as prophecies of Christ? This problem is far too large and too much outside the scope of this thesis for it to be more than mentioned here. Those interested should consult James Barr, Old and New in Interpretation, London, 1966, along with other works on the subject.

according to what seems to have been the sense intended by the writer, Isaiah. But in addition he refers the "stone" and the "rock" to Christ thus differing in his interpretation both from the Rabbis and Qumran. This is possible in Isaiah 28:16 but not in 8:14, though he has the support of other NT writers in doing so.¹ Thus again Paul spiritualizes at least the text of Isaiah 8:14 and sees a reference concerning the Messiah in both texts. For Paul the Messiah has come in Jesus Christ, therefore he can apply the text to Him whom the Jews have rejected.

1. cf. Matt. 21:42; Mark 12:10; Luke 20:17; Acts 4:11; 1 Peter 2:6-8.

ROMANS 10:5THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:5

Μωϋσῆς γράφει,

ὁ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR LEVITICUS 18:5

אשר יעשה אתם האדם רחי בהם

THE TARGUM¹ FOR LEVITICUS 18:5

דאם יעביד יתהרן אינשא ייחי בהרן עלמא

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR LEVITICUS 18:5

ὁ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLEL TEXTSGALATIANS 3:12

ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

1. Berliner, p.130.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Here, for the second time, Paul refers to Moses by name.¹ This is the only place where he speaks of Moses as writing one of the books of the Pentateuch, it seems clear, though, that Paul along with those of his day believed Moses to be the author of the Pentateuch. Moses is mentioned as "writing" in only three places in the NT.² Yet it is everywhere assumed that he is the author of the Pentateuch. Paul mentions Moses in connection with three of the five books of the Pentateuch.³ Paul also mentions Moses four times by name in his IFs and in each case he uses a different IF.⁴ This is the only place in the NT where this IF is used.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

In Rom. 10:5 there are a number of important variant readings. The first part of the verse, though it contains nothing of our citation, yet because of its close proximity and bearing upon the citation needs to be considered. ὅτι is read before τὴν δικαιοσύνην by Codices \aleph^* , A, D*, several minuscules, three Old Latin, the Vulgate, Syriac and Coptic versions, Ambrosiaster, Origen (Latin), Cassiodorus, and John Damascus. ὅτι is read before ὁ ποιητής by Codices p46, \aleph^c , B, Ψ , D^c , G, K, P, (Tischendorf adds E, F, and L) and many minuscules, most Byzantine Lectionaries, five Old Latin, three Syriac, Gothic, Armenian and Ethiopic versions, Ambrosiaster, Chrysostom, Pelagius, and Theodoret. ὅτι is omitted by Codex 1984.⁵ ὅτι ὁ ποιητής being supported by p46, \aleph^c , and B - all Alexandrian texts, plus the Koine and Byzantine texts has the

1. cf. Romans 9:15.

2. Mark, 12:19; Luke, 20:28, Romans, 10:5.

3. Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, p.333.

4. cf. Romans, 9:15; 10:5; 10:19; I Cor. 9:9.

5. UBS, The Greek New Testament.

better evidence in its support. τὴν ἐκ νόμου is supported by \aleph , and B, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. ἐκ τοῦ νόμου is read by D, E, F, G, K, L, P, and other MSS.¹ νόμου is read πιστεως by Codex A. The Ethiopic version omits τὴν νόμου reading only ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας.² The evidence favours τὴν ἐκ νόμου since the Alexandrian text \aleph and B are two of our oldest and best texts.

In the citation itself αὐτὰ is interpolated into the text after ποιήσας by p46, \aleph^c , B, G, K, P, Ψ , and most witnesses, many minuscules, four Old Latin and two Syriac versions, Ambrosiaster, Chrysostom, Pelagius, Theodoret and Weiss. αὐτὴν is interpolated into the text after ποιήσας by two Old Latin, two Coptic, Gothic and Armenian versions, Cassiodorus, while Codex 33* reads ταῦτα.³ The evidence seems to be almost equally divided between the insertion of αὐτὰ and its omission. However, since αὐτὰ is supported by p46 - our oldest text, by B - our best Alexandrian representative text, and the Koine text, the evidence for αὐτὰ out-weighs slightly the evidence of \aleph^* , A, and other MSS which omit αὐτὰ. ἄνθρωπος is omitted by F, G, 1984, two old Latin, and Syriac Peshitta versions, Chrysostom and Ambrosiaster,⁴ all other MSS read with the text which is conclusive evidence for the inclusion of ἄνθρωπος. ἐν αὐτῇ is supported by \aleph^* , A, B, 81, 630, 1739, Old Latin, Vulgate, Coptic versions, Origen, John^{of} Damascus.⁵ ἐν αὐτοῖς is supported by p46, \aleph^c , D (Greek), E, F, G, K, L, P, Ψ , 88, 104, and most witnesses, Byzantine Lectionaries, Syriac Harclean version, Pelagius, and Theodoret.⁵

1. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

2. UBS, The Greek New Testament.

3. Ibid.

4. UBS, The Greek New Testament; Nestle and Aland; Tischendorf, Vol.II.

5. Ibid.

Though three of the best, most representative of Alexandrian texts \aleph^* , A and B support $\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$, I am inclined to think that the evidence rests with $\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ supported as it is by the earliest MS we have of the NT, p46, and \aleph^c , which could have been corrected to read with an earlier MS reading with p46, both of these texts are of the Alexandrian Family of texts. Hence I believe our corrected citation should read¹ $\delta\ \kappa\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

For יהיה of the MT the Samaritan Pentateuch reads²
 יהיה

b. Septuagint Text

$\delta\ \kappa\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ is supported by Codices A, B, N, h, r*, and y.
 $\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is read by Codices F*, M, d, g, j, s, v, z, a₂ and b₂.
 $\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is read by Codex p. $\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is read by Codex n, Codex o omits α . $\delta\ \kappa\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is read by F?, 29 other Cursive MSS, Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Lucifer of Cagliari. Codex f, and Philo omit $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$. $\zeta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is placed after $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ by Codex m.³

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Lev. 18:5 occurs in a section of Scripture in which God charges Moses with what to instruct the newly formed nation of Israel about their relationship to their God and to the practices of the

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1. Again this is at variance with Sanday and Headlam who did not have p46 as evidence upon which to base their conclusions. p.286.
 2. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.
 3. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part II. Exodus and Leviticus.

peoples around them. They are not to follow the practice of the Egyptians or the Canaanites. They are to do "all my judgments and keep mine ordinances to walk therein to keep my statutes and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live in them." Then proceeds a long section of 'thou shalt not's' extending through verse twenty-four.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

As corrected, Paul's text differs from the LXX in only two places. The relative α of the LXX, which is somewhat closer to the Hebrew than is the δ of Romans,¹ is omitted and the article δ is placed before the participle ποιήσας. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is inserted after ποιήσας as its object corresponding to the אֹתָם of the Hebrew thus Paul follows the Hebrew closer here than does the LXX. In this case Paul differs both from the Hebrew and from the LXX.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Parallel Passage: Gal. 3:12.

In Galatians Paul omits $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ according to almost all the most important evidence. However, the Koine text, the majority of remaining witnesses and Clement include $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$.² This is the only difference between Galatians 3:12 and Romans 10:5 and if the Koine text reading be accepted (which has insufficient evidence) the two texts are identical. It is interesting to note that Leviticus 18:5 is introduced in Galatians in contrast to the Habakkuk 2:4, passage quoted by Paul in Romans 1:17, to show that $\epsilon\nu\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

1. However, Paul must have felt that coming immediately after $\delta\tau\iota$, δ fits better grammatically than does α ($\gamma\alpha\rho$).

2. Nestle and Aland.

b. Qumran Literature

In the Admonition of the Zadokite Documents (CD 3:15) a reference to Leviticus 18:5 is found.¹ The Hebrew text omits אַחֲרֵי after עָשָׂה and reads יָחִיָּהּ for יָחִי thus it agrees apparently with the Samaritan Pentateuch as mentioned in the critical apparatus of Kittel.² All other words are identical with the consonantal script of the MT. Chaim Rabin says of this citation, perhaps with the Samaritan Pentateuch in mind, that it represents a different Bible text supported by ancient versions.³

c. Midrash and Talmud

In the Midrash there are four references to Lev. 18:5 of which three seem to give a literal interpretation. In these passages it is indicated that even an idolater if he becomes a proselyte and studies the Torah and follows it shall live.

The Talmud gives a literal interpretation of Lev. 18:5 identical with that of the Midrash,⁴ though with perhaps more emphasis upon the fact that a person keeping the law will live, not die in it.⁵

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THIS OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The statement in Lev. 18:5 seems to refer in a most literal way to the Law of God or at least to His "statutes and judgments". Israel is told to "keep" them, that is, to live in accordance to them. They are the guide posts along the way of life telling Israel the way in which to walk. The reason why they are to "keep" these "statutes" and "judgments" is because the one who "keeps"

1. Chaim Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1954, p.12.

2. See No. 3. OT analysis on previous page.

3. Chaim Rabin, p.78.

4. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, p.372; Leviticus, p.298; Numbers, p.536; Ecclesiastes, p.28.

5. The Babylonian Talmud, Yoma, p.422; Sanhedrin, pp.400, 502. Abadah Zarah, pp. 5, 137, 275.

them shall "live". Just what "live" means is uncertain. It may mean that one's life may be richer, fuller and longer in Palestine:¹ that God would keep him who "keeps His statutes and judgments" from illness and evil and give long life. Or it may have reference to life after death.² Strack-Billerbeck say that the Rabbis referred "lives" partly to eternal life and partly to this life.³ They say:

"Dem Zitat liegt zugrunde Lv. 18,5 : 'Beobachtet meine Satzungen und meine Rechte, welche der Mensch tun soll und durch welche er lebt', d.h. welche der Mensch tun soll, dass er durch sie lebe. Die rabbinischen Autoren haben die Worte: 'durch welche er lebt' teils auf das ewige, a) teils auf das zeitliche, b) Leben bezogen."

The Jewish interpreters regarded "life" as more than earthly felicity in Canaan. It included the idea of a better life hereafter.⁴ Onkelos translates this verse as "whosoever keeps these Commandments shall thereby live in the eternal life."⁵ It is given an even stronger reference to life after death by the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, "He shall live in eternal life and have a part with the righteous."⁶ The Arabic version is "the Retribution of him who works these things is that he shall live an eternal life."⁷ Alford also cites Tholuck as indicating that "life" here is a general promise, and length of days, a particular species of felicity."⁸ Moses doubtless referred here to all the results which would follow obedience."⁹ But whatever "live" may mean, the import of this statement is that a man lives by doing the "statutes and judgments" of God. This seems to be meant in the most literal sense, the whole

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1. Meyer, Vol.II, p.174.
 2. Hodge, p.337.
 3. Strack-Billerbeck, III, pp. 277-8.
 4. Alford, Vol.II, p.417.
 5. as quoted by Liddon, p.180.
 6. Stuart, p.355.
 7. as quoted by Barnes, p.214.
 8. Alford, Vol.II, p.417.
 9. Barnes, p.213.

context bears this out. Moule says: "it is a matter of personal action and personal meriting alone."¹ The great principle here is "do and live".² It may be noted, though, that in the context there is no hint that one cannot "keep" God's statutes and judgments".

Denney says in this respect:

"Moses did not mock his people, the OT religion, though an imperfect, was a real religion, under which men could be right with God. To keep the law of God and live by doing so was the natural aim and hope of a true Israelite."³

The passage does not have any reference to legal righteousness as opposed to righteousness of faith,⁴ nor does Moses seem to be describing the righteousness which is of the Law. His aim is more practical, to get Israel to obey the Law, rather than describe the philosophy behind it.

Paul, as is his custom, does not mention the context or historical connection of this OT passage, and could hardly have thought that all his readers would have adequate knowledge of how this verse is used in Lev. 18:5. Paul is contrasting "the Jew's self-appointed way to salvation and the Christian way to salvation," namely justification⁵ by works of the Law and by faith in Christ, with the intention of proving that the former is in its nature impracticable, while the latter is reasonable and easy.⁶ In other words he wants to show that the two are mutually exclusive.⁷ ὁ ποιήσας is in the emphatic position so Moses exhibits⁸ the doing as the condition sine

1. H.C.G. Moule, Cambridge Bible, Romans, Cambridge University Press, 1903, p.268.
2. Plummer, p.505.
3. Denney, EGT, Vol.II, p.670
4. Murray, Vol.II, p.51.
5. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.84.
6. Hodge, p.337.
7. Denney, EGT, Vol.II, p.662.
8. Meyer, Vol.II, p.174.

qua non of the attainment of life. And Paul has already shown that no one can boast of having kept the Law. So this excludes Israel as well as the Gentiles from justification by works, for it is in or by the doing of the Law one has life, not in the mere covenantal relationship with God apart from the Law, for the Law was the seal of the Covenant. Though in the original text "live" may refer to more than a happy and prosperous life in Palestine, Paul neither dwells upon nor draws out the life that is obtained by doing the Law, but is simply contrasting the righteousness based on the Law (=Life) with the righteousness based on faith.¹ He interprets this citation literally, for it is the literal doing of the Law that counts, but he uses it as a Mosaic description of Law-righteousness and contrasts this with faith-righteousness.

1. cf. Lindars, p.229.

ROMANS 10:6-8THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:6-8

ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει,
 τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν....τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν
 ἄβυσσον...ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστίν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου, καὶ ἐν τῇ
 καρδίᾳ σου.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXTFOR DEUTERONOMY 30:12-14

לא בשמים הוא לאמר מי יעלה לנו השמימה ויקחה
 לנו וישמענו אתה ונעשנה: ולא מעבר לים הוא לאמר מי
 יעבר לנו אל עבר הים ויקחה לנו וישמענו אתה ונעשנה:
 כי קרוב אליך הדבר מאד בפֿיך ובלבבך לעשתו:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR DEUTERONOMY 30:12-14

לא בשמיא היא למימר מן יסק לנא לשמיא ויסבה לנא
 וישמענינא יתה ונעבדינה: ולא מעיברא לימא היא למימר מן
 יעבר לנא לעיבר ימא ויסבה לנא וישמענינא יתה ונעבדינה:
 ארי קריב לך פתגמא לחדא בפומך וכליבך למעבדיה:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR DEUTERONOMY 30:12-14

τίς ἀναβήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν... τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν
 εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης... ἔστιν σου ἐγγὺς τὸ ῥῆμα σφόδρα ἐν
 τῷ στόματι σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου
 αὐτὸ ποιεῖν.

1. Berliner, p.233.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Paul again shows that he is not bound by set forms or patterns by using here an unusual, but not so very long IF. It is used nowhere else by Paul, nor is it used anywhere else in the NT and there seems to be no Rabbinical equivalent for it.¹ Sanday and Headlam note that Paul in this IF "does not introduce this citation on the authority of Scripture, nor the authority of Moses, but merely as a declaration of righteousness in its own nature."² This seems to be the case for "righteousness" in verse six seems to be contrasted with Moses in verse five. Munck is right in saying that righteousness "is cited generally as Holy Scripture".³

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

There is little by way of textual variants in these verses. In verse eight after λέγει Codices D, 33, a greater number of other witnesses, and the Clementine edition of the Vulgate add ἡ γραφή while Codex G and the Coptic Boharic version add ἡ γραφή before λέγει.⁴ The omission, however, is amply supported by

κ, A, B, K, L, P, and most other MSS.⁵ There is also a variation of order in τὸ ῥῆμα ἔστιν. Codex 1026 of von Soden's Ia₁ group of MSS^(D), the Old Latin, Vulgate and Armenian versions together with Marcion read ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα. Two MSS, 8156 and 8180 of his Ia₃ group^(216, 1319), read ἀναγαγεῖν before ἐκ νεκρῶν. Codex 552 of the Ia₃ group⁽⁶⁴²⁾ omits ἐκ νεκρῶν. Von Soden also lists Codices H78⁽¹⁷³⁹⁾ and 8356⁽⁶⁾ together with Origen as adding σφόδρα before ἐν τῷ στόματι.⁶ Since these are later texts they may well have

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1. B. Metzger, Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the New Testament and the Mishnah. Journal of Biblical Literature, 70, Dec. 1951, pp.297-307.
 2. Sanday and Headlam, p.287.
 3. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.85.
 4. Nestle and Aland.
 5. Tischendorf, Vol.II.
 6. Von Soden, Vol.II.

been corrected to read with the LXX. However, these are either minor variants or supported by weak evidence and further do not form part of Paul's citation, but are part of the immediate context.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no variants of any consequence at all in these verses. $\aleph\eta\eta$ is read $\aleph\iota\eta$ by some MSS otherwise there are no variants in the MT of these verses at all.¹

b. Septuagint Text

In verse twelve $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ after $\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is read $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ by Codices A, F, G, b, e, i, through m, o, s, v, through z and b₂. It is read $\delta\mu\iota\nu$ by Codex g*, $\delta\mu\omega\nu$ by Codices c, and f, and omitted by Codex h, the Bohairic version, and Theodoret. $\tau\omicron\nu$ before $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ is omitted by a₂.

Verse fourteen $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ldots\tau\omicron$ $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ is supported by Codices B, g, a₂, and the Old Latin; is read as in Rom. 10:8 $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου $\tau\omicron$ $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ by Codex b₂; $\omicron\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου is read by Codices θ , g; $\omicron\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ is read by Codices M (margin), d, p, t, and the margin of the Syro Hexaplar; $\omicron\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου by Codices f, n; $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου is read by Codex o and Origen in the Greek text; Codices h, k, m, read merely $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου and Codex u reads only $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$, while Codices A, F, G, M, and the rest of the cursives consulted by Field, together with Origen's Latin text read $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$, Theodoret reads $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ σου. $\tau\omicron$ $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ is located after $\sigma\phi\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\alpha$ by Codices F^a, G^b, and Ethiopic version. $\tau\omicron$ $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ is omitted by Codex G*. Codex h adds $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ after $\tau\omicron$ $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$. $\sigma\phi\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\alpha$ omitted by Paul and Codices

1. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

F*, and f. The entire phrase ἐν.....ποιεῖν is omitted by Codex 71. ἔστιν is added after στόματι σου by Codex m. καρδία is read διανοία by Codex x. σου is omitted after καρδία by Philo two-thirds of the time.¹

4. CONTEXT FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

These verses in Deuteronomy come in the Context of Moses' final warning to the Children of Israel about turning away from their Covenant God to serve idols. Moses enumerates the blessings of Israel if they keep the commandments of the Law and the curses which will fall upon them if they do not. In the immediate context Moses speaks of God's command to Israel to fulfil his law, which, he insists, in the words of the citation in Rom. 10:6-8, can be done, for the word of the commandment is planted in their hearts. Then he again reverts to warnings against apostasy.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

This is a very free use of the LXX by Paul² in which only a few phrases of Deut. 30:12-14 are selected.³ He expands the λέγων of verse twelve, "which is an ungrammatical translation of the Hebrew and is without construction"⁴ by substituting μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου from Deut. 8:17 or 9:4. The indirect sense of 'forbidding' of the Hebrew is heightened by Paul by making it a direct prohibition.⁵ Paul omits ἡμῖν after ἀναβήσεται and all the rest of verse 14 after οὐρανόν "In order to make the passage better suited for the purpose for which it is quoted."⁶

1. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part III; Numbers and Deuteronomy.

2. Toy, p.147.

3. Sanday and Headlam, p.286.

4. Ibid.

5. Liddon, p.181.

6. Sanday and Headlam, p.286.

Paul substitutes *τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον* for *τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης* of the LXX and then omits all the rest of verse thirteen as well as all that goes before *τίς διαπεράσει* of the verse. In verse fourteen he changes the order of the words in the first phrase from *ἔστιν σου ἔγγυς τὸ ῥῆμα* to *ἔγγυς σου τὸ ῥῆμα ἔστιν* perhaps to change the emphasis to the nearness of the *ῥῆμα*. He also omits *σφόδρα* and the last clause of the verse *καὶ τίς ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου αὐτὸ ποιεῖν*. The *ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου* is an addition or an interpretation of the Hebrew by the LXX. Either that or the LXX used another Hebrew text. The term though not found in the Hebrew is found in Philo.¹

The change of the expression "go beyond the sea" to "descend into the abyss" may be based on the Jewish belief that the sea is an abyss of water upon which the earth rested.² Or it may be that Paul used another Hebrew or LXX text. Toy believes that Paul may have used "a popular Aramaic version." Sanday and Headlam say that Paul made the change "because it makes a more suitable contrast to the first part of the sentence and because it harmonizes better with the figurative meaning he wishes to draw from it." They remark:

"ἄβυσσος in the OT meant originally the 'deep sea', 'the great deep' or 'the depths of the sea', Ps.106:26 (107:26) ἀναβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν ἄβυσσων, and the deep places of the earth, Ps.71 (70):20. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁβύσσων τῆς γῆς πάλιν ἀνιγαῖς με and so had become to mean Tartarus or the Lower World; τὸν δὲ τάρταρον τῆς ἁβύσσου Job 41:23 where the reference to τάρταρος is due to the LXX. ... Elsewhere in the NT it is so used of the abode of

1. Liddon, p.181.

2. Toy, p.149.

"demons (Luke 8:31) and the place of torment (Rev. 9:1). This double association of the word made it suitable for Paul's purpose; it kept up the anti-thesis of the original and it also enabled him to apply the passage figuratively to the Resurrection of Christ after His human soul had gone down to Hades."¹

Therefore, it seems to me that the change was brought about because "descend into the abyss" was a more suitable term to describe the death and Resurrection of Christ than "go beyond the sea."² ἄβυσσος is equivalent to ἔδης and Sheol (שְׁאוֹל)

when it means the grave,³ the abode of the dead.⁴ ἄβυσσος was thought of as an ἄβυσσος somewhere in the bowels of the earth, and a descent into ἄβυσσος meant death. Whereas "go beyond the sea" perhaps could refer to death but it might be misunderstood and taken literally as well.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Midrash and Talmud

There are two references in Midrash Rabbah to Deut. 30:12-14. Both⁵ give the verse a literal interpretation very consistent with its historical meaning and setting. It is referred to the nearness of the Torah to those who are in covenant relation with God.

The Talmud refers to Deut. 30:12-14 in three places.⁶ In all of these places the interpretation is in agreement with the Midrash.

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1. Sanday and Headlam, p.288. See also Strack-Billerbeck, p.281f.
 2. Ibid, p.288.
 3. Shedd, p.316.
 4. Stuart, p.356.
 5. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, p.538; Deuteronomy, p.154.
 6. The Babylonian Talmud, Baba Mezi'a, p.353; Erubin, p.376, Temurah, p.109.

b. Qumran Literature

Though the Qumran Literature does not cite Deut. 30:12-14 Braun agrees with Gärtner in feeling that the interpretation of this OT passage justly reminds one of the same style of interpretation as in 1Qp Hab. 12:6-10 and in CD 4:13f.¹

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THIS
- OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

In this passage Moses is reminding the Israelites that they have in their possession God's written Law, therefore it is not something they will have to search in distant places for. He further reminds them that they have uttered God's Law with their own lips and have from their hearts made covenant with God to live according to His Law. This passage in Deut. 30:12-14 refers to the literal Law of Ten Commandments and other commandments of the Ceremonial Law given by God through Moses.² This is what God requires of them. They are not to search the heavens or beyond the seas for a revelation from God for they already have it in the Law of Moses. If we ask as to the literal meaning of that passage, there can be no doubt that it refers to the Commandment. That is entirely clear, both from the opening sentence and from the thrice repeated "that thou mayest do it".³ What Moses seems to be saying here is that the Commandment is in a language which they speak and is such that they can comprehend, in other words, it is plain and accessible.⁴ It is plain that Moses is speaking of righteousness, not by faith, but by obedience "to the Law which is plain, understandable, and accessible."⁵

1. Braun, p.182.

2. Denney, EGT, Vol.II, p.670.

3. Nygren, p.381.

4. Stuart, p.356.

5. Toy, p.149. Arnold and Ford, p.241.

Paul does not cite this OT passage as a proof text or intend to base any argument on the quotation from the OT, but only as a rhetorical form for his own thoughts.¹ He selects the language as being familiar, suitable and proverbial, in order to express what he wishes to say.² Sanday and Headlam give five points upon which they base the above conclusion. (1) The context shows no stress laid upon the fact that the OT is quoted. (2) The Apostle makes no point in appealing to Scripture. (3) The quotation is singularly inexact. (4) The words had become proverbial. (5) Paul uses words of Scripture to express his own meaning in familiar language. They further conclude against Liddon,³ that it is not necessary to consider Paul as using Rabbinical methods or see in the passage a prophetic reference to Christ.⁴ This seems to me to be correct. Paul does not state that Moses describes the righteousness of faith. The object of Moses was to state the Law and give its demands and rewards. Yet, though he had not intentionally or consciously described the righteousness of faith, he had used language which appropriately expressed justification by faith.⁵ Neither does Paul affirm that Moses' original idea was to refer to the Messiah. Paul makes use of the passage because it so appropriately expresses what he wants to say of faith. If these words could be used by Moses of the Law, how much more appropriately could Paul use them of faith in Christ!⁶

"Paul means simply to affirm, that if Moses could truly say that

1. Strack-Billerbeck, p.281f.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.289. See also W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, S.P.C.K., London, 1962, pp.153-4, where he expresses the opinion that the saying had become proverbial through its connection with Wisdom as in Baruch 3:29f.

3. Liddon, p.182.

4. Sanday and Headlam, p.289.

5. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.85.

6. Barnes, pp.214-215.

his law was intelligible and accessible, the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ is even still more so."¹ Paul cites the words of Deut. 30:11-12 and gives a running commentary adapting them to the Christian dispensation. He personifies the righteousness of faith and has it speaking the words of Moses as more suited to it than ^{to/} the Law. Thus Paul clothes his thought in OT phraseology which originally had reference to the Law, altering the phraseology and adapting it to justification by faith in Christ, who is the end of the Law, without implying that these words were a typical prophetic description of the righteousness of faith.² Thus the search for the Law becomes, for Paul, a search for Christ.³

We may conclude that Paul cites this passage without regard for its context or historical connection, and also that he cites it without too much regard for its original wording and is not concerned with its literal meaning. Paul believed God meant these words "to bear also an interpretation with reference to the Gospel."⁴ We may see here a clear example "of the liberty Paul takes, of accommodating the spirit of the OT to the objects and truths of the Gospel, without any slavish subjection to the mere form of words."⁵ Paul's quotation of Deut. 30:12-14 is a paraphrase of midrashic type.⁶

1. Stuart, p.356.

2. Arnold and Ford, Vol.IV, p.241. For a contrary view see R.O. Zorn, The Apostle Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 10:5-8. Gordon Review, Vol.5, 1959, pp.29-34.

3. Lindars, pp.239-40.

4. Vine, p.155.

5. Stuart, p.356.

6. Lindars, p.284.

ROMANS 10:11THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:11

ἡ γραφή λέγει,

πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐκ' αὐτοῦ οὐ κατασχευθήσεται.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 28:16

המאמין לא יחיש:

TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 28:16

רצדיקיא דהימין באלין במיתי עקא לא יזדעזעון:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 28:16

ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχευθῇ.

1. Stenning, pp.88,89.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

The formula used here is used only this once in the NT in this order and it is a variation of an IF used elsewhere only by Paul.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

ὅτι is added before πᾶς by Codex 51 and a few other MSS, the Syriac versions and Origen.² πᾶς is omitted by Codices D, E, and G. οὐ κατασχευθήσεται is read οὐ μὴ κατασχευθήσεται by D, E, G, and F.³ Also Codex 256 of von Soden's Ia3 group (319) of minuscule MSS reads εἰς αὐτόν for ἐπ' αὐτῷ.⁴ However, the evidence is decidedly in favour of the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

See above Romans 9:33.

4. CONTEXT FOR OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

See above Romans 9:33.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul drops the conjunction καί of the LXX and of Romans 9:33 and substitutes an adjective πᾶς. Though some MSS omit πᾶς here, the overwhelming evidence is for its inclusion in the text. πᾶς is not found in the LXX or in the Hebrew.⁵ However, the idea of "everyone who believes" is innate in the meaning of the ascriptive use of the participle, ὁ πιστεύων.⁶ The addition of πᾶς makes it more emphatic⁷ but does not enlarge its

1. See Romans 9:17 IF.

2. Nestle and Aland.

3. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

4. Von Soden, Vol.II.

5. Boise, p.94; Denney, EGT, pp.671-72.

6. R. St. John Parry, p.11.

7. Sanday and Headlam, p.290.

meaning. The $\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ may have been suggested by Joel 2:32¹. Paul also uses the weaker negative $\text{o}\dot{\upsilon}$ for the strongest and most emphatic negative in the Greek language $\text{o}\dot{\upsilon}\ \mu\eta$ of the LXX.² In doing so he naturally changes the mood of the verb from the present subjunctive to the future indicative. Ellis is not wholly correct in his classification of this verse as "at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary"³ for Paul varies from the LXX where it agrees with the Hebrew as well for $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\eta$ is closer to the Hebrew יִמְחָד than Paul's $\alpha\lambda\varsigma\ \delta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\eta$.⁴

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

See above Romans 9:33.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This passage is quoted to support Paul's contention that faith alone is necessary for salvation. There are two points which Paul wants to establish with this citation; the first is to show that "the real distinction is between believer and unbeliever, whether they be Jew or Gentile." Thus racial distinction is obsolete. It is through believing that one finds divine favour. The second is to show through the significant addition of $\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ the universal applicability of this salvation.⁵ In the Isaiah text there is little or no emphasis on the universality of its application. Paul adds $\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ to emphasize this thought,⁶ but in the

1. Liddon, p.184.

2. H.E. Dana and J.R. Mantey, A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1963, p.266.

3. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

4. For the discussion of יִמְחָד , be in haste, translated $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\eta$ in the LXX see the discussion under Romans 9:33.

5. Lindars, p.78; Munck, Christ and Israel, p.89; Hodge, p.345.

6. E.E. Ellis, A Note on Pauline Hermeneutics, New Testament Studies, 2. 1955-56, p.127.

Hebrew and the Greek there is no word that stands behind $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, although universality may be and perhaps is implied in the δ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\omega\nu$ of the LXX.¹ There is no thought in the original text of anything but a physical deliverance, yet Paul applies it spiritually to indicate the salvation of the soul. Faith is emphasized by Isaiah, but only slightly, the phrase of our citation seems to be added to the verse somewhat as an after-thought. The emphasis is on the first part of the verse. Even so the emphasis is that Paul makes faith the sole condition for deliverance. This emphasis, implied though not expressed in Isaiah, is supplied in anticipation of verses twelve and thirteen.²

For futher comments see under Romans 9:33.

1. Meyer, Vol.II, p.183.

2. Murray, Vol.II, p.57.

ROMANS 10:13THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:13

γάρ

πᾶς (γάρ) ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR JOEL 2:32 (3:5)

כל אשר יקרא בשם יהוה ימלט

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR JOEL 2:32

(καὶ ἔσται) πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLEL PASSAGEACTS 2:21

καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἔαν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Some may not regard γάρ as an IF though the words of the citation are found in Joel 2:32. The γάρ seems to come in the text as a consequential argument for Paul's subject. But the formula of Rom. 10:11 is easily repeated here giving γάρ (λέγει γραφή) ὅς ἄν, κτλ. But even without this it is apparent that Paul is using Scripture to support his statement of verse ten. He supports the first part of the statement, καρδία γάρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην by a quotation from Isaiah 28:16 and the latter clause one would expect him to support in a similar way, which he does by quoting Joel 2:32.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Only a few MSS read ὅς ἑάν for ὅς ἄν² apparently having been influenced by Acts 2:21. Codex δ 459* of von Soden's Ia₂ group of minuscule MSS⁽⁴⁸⁹⁾ and Codex 365 of his Ib¹ group⁽²⁰⁶⁾ omit ἄν.³ The overwhelming bulk of evidence is with the reading of the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no textual variants for the portion of Joel 2:32 that is included in our citation. In the latter part of the verse not included in the citation, וְנִבְּרָ יְיָ is read וְנִבְּרָ יְיָ by Codex E_b 10 in Leningrad, and the LXX rendering of it as εὐαγγελιζόμενοι represents וְנִבְּרָ יְיָ rather than the text.⁴ These variants are not in Paul's citation, and have no bearing on it directly, so we need not concern ourselves with them here.

1. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, pp.103-104.

2. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

3. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.679. *Note-Von Soden's apparatus is*

4. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

wrong in reading It².

It is generally agreed that it is a quotation.¹ Dodd says:

"The citation occurs in a passage which is essentially a commentary (a kind of 'Midrash') on certain passages of the Old Testament, most of which are introduced by such formulas as *Μωϋσῆς γράφει* (5), *λέγει ἡ γραφή* (11), *γέγραπται* (15), *Ἡσαΐας λέγει* (16). It is thus a mere accident that no such formula happens to be used in verse 13; the intention to quote is clear."²

b. Septuagint Text

πᾶς is omitted by Codex 36 and Chrysostom. *ὅς ἔν* is read *ὅταν* by Codex 147, *ὅς ἑόν* by Codices S (*κ*), 198, 233, 407 and 534. Codex 26 omits *ἄν*. *ἐπικαλέσθαι* is read *ἐπικαλήσθαι* by Codex S* (*κ* *).³

4. CONTEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Chapter two begins with a prophecy concerning the coming of the Day of the Lord. Verses 1-11 contain a description of that great and terrible day. Verses 12-17 is a call for the genuine repentance of Israel in view of this coming Day of the Lord. Verses 18-29 contain promises of blessing contingent upon their repentance. Verses 30-31 revert back to the scene in verses 1-11 and indicate the terrifying things that will happen just prior to "the great and terrible day of the Lord." It is here in this context of terrifying happenings that Paul's citation, "whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved", occurs.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul omits the *καὶ ἔσται* of the LXX and draws attention to the fact that salvation will be for those who call on the name

1. Leenhardt, p.272; Murray, Vol.II, p.57; Liddon, p.186; Shedd, p.320.

2. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.47.

3. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.13; Duodecim Prophetæ, p.236.

of the Lord now in the present moment. The remainder of the citation is taken verbatim from the LXX which, in turn, is a faithful translation of the Hebrew.¹ This is the tenth time in Romans that Paul has used a verbatim citation from the OT.²

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Parallel Passages

Acts 2:21.

In Acts 2:17-21 there is a long passage taken from Joel 2:28-32. The Acts passage on the whole follows the LXX with but few important variants.³ The last verse, Acts 2:21, is taken verbatim from the LXX and includes the phrase καὶ ἔσται which Paul leaves out when he quotes Joel 2:32 in Romans 10:13. This is perhaps due to the fact that Peter is using this citation to show that the phenomenon Jerusalem was witnessing was that which was predicted by Joel, whereas Paul is attempting to show that salvation is assured for all those who call upon the name of the Lord here and now.

b. Talmud

There are two citations of Joel 2:32 (3:5) in the Talmud.⁴ In these references the citation is rather arbitrarily applied to "the scholar" and the citation is changed to read "and in those left whom the Lord shall call."⁵

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.291.

2. see Table I, p.402.

3. Toy, p.97; Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.47.

4. The Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin, Vol.II, p.616f, and Hullin, Vol.II, p.755.

5. The Targum, according to Strack-Billerbeck, reads: "Und es wird geschehen, jeder, der mit (bei) dem Namen Jahves beten wird, wird gerettet werden (entrinnen)". p.288.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The passage in Joel has eschatological import. It says in effect that at the time of the end, the "great and terrible day of the Lord", whoever calls upon the name of the Lord (יהוה) shall be delivered. יהוה is the covenant name of God with Israel. So here the reference is to God.¹ The deliverance seems to be more physical than spiritual, if indeed, it can be said that spiritual deliverance was in the mind of Joel at all.

Paul as usual pays no attention to the context of this citation, nor to its historical situation. That it refers to the end time was surely known to him but he shows no evidence of it. He sees the passage as having reference to Christ.² It is perfectly clear what has happened: "St. Paul has transferred to Jesus as Lord, words which in the LXX are applied to God as Lord."³ Whereas Joel had physical redemption in mind, Paul applies his words to the salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. Paul quotes these words to show the universality of the application of salvation through faith and he "takes advantage of the universalizing tendency of the Septuagint version of these prophecies."⁴ The fact that he interprets the passage Messianically seems incidental to his idea of the universality of the Gospel's application which he is emphasizing here. Paul's object here is to answer the question of Israel and her place in God's plan of salvation (see the question of 11:1 "Has God rejected his people?")

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1. See Murray, Vol.II, p.57; Leenhardt, p.272; Nygren, p.385, and others.
 2. Meyer, Vol. II, p.184, and others.
 3. Whiteley, p.106.
 4. Lindars, pp.37-38.

He applies the Joel prophecy to the new situation created by Christ's coming in regard to the place of Jew and Greek in "sacred history" and its confirmation. In other words, Paul is not concerned here about the salvation of the individual soul, but about Jews and Greeks as groups.

ROMANS 10:15THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:15

καθὼς γέγραπται,

ὡς ὄραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθά.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 52:7¹

מה באור על ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום מבשר

טוב

TARGUM² FOR ISAIAH 52:7

מא יאין על טורי ארעא דישראל רגלי מבשר משמע
שלם מבשר טוב

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 52:7

(πάρειμι) ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου
ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθά, (ὅτι ἀκουστήν ποιήσω
τὴν σωτηρίαν σου.)

1. cf. Nahum 1:15

2. Stenning, pp.176-77.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Nine times Paul has used this IF in Romans thus far.¹ He refers here for the seventh time to the book of Isaiah. καθώς is supported by p46, 10, 13, 15, 16, 32, X, A, B, C, H, I, M, D, G, 0220, 6, 33, 81, 104, 326, 424, 1175, 1739, and other MSS, Clement of Rome, and Tischendorf's margin, while καθάπερ is supported only by Codex B. The weight of MS evidence is decidedly in favour of καθώς.²

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

After πόδες, Codices X^c, D, E, F, K, P, Ψ, 33, 88, 104, other MSS, Byzantine Lectionaries, the Old Latin, Syriac, Gothic, and Armenian versions, Marcion, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hilary Ambrose, and many Fathers, together with Weiss add τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην.³ Sanday and Headlam believe that the insertion of these words into the texts of these MSS was made so "that the citation may correspond more accurately with the LXX" but that this was not completely achieved since the LXX also include ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης though the omission of these words might be from Homoeoteleuton.⁴ This seems plausible. However, the text omitting τῶν κ.τ.λ. has still stronger support in Codices p46, X^{*}, A, B, C, 81, 630, 1739, 1881, the Old Latin, Coptic (both Sahidic and Boharic) and Ethiopic versions, Clement, Origen both Greek and Latin, Epiphanius, Theodore, Cyril, Euthalius, and John^{of} Damascus.⁵ τὰ is added before ἀγαθὰ by p46, X^{*}, the Koine texts and the majority of other MSS, Clement of Alexandria and Tischendorf.⁶ The LXX omits

1. Romans 1:17, 2:24; 3:4, 10: 4:17; 8:36; 9:13; 9:33.

2. Nestle and Aland.

3. UBS, The Greek New Testament.

4. Sanday and Headlam, p.297.

5. UBS, The Greek New Testament; Sanday and Headlam, p.297.

6. Nestle and Aland.

the article so that it could not have been inserted to make the text conform to the LXX by a corrector. If it had formed part of the original text a corrector may have omitted it for conformity to the LXX. It would seem that this, with the support of p46, is supported sufficiently well to be included in the text. τὰ ἀγαθά is read with Codices p46, x*, D^{b,c}, K, L. τὰ is omitted by x^c, A, B, C, D*, E, F, G, P, and other MSS.¹ Though there are good MSS which support τὰ, there are more good MSS which omit it, so the evidence is in favour of the omission of τὰ.² Codices F, and G omit τῶν.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no textual variants except for the order in which מִשְׁמִיעַ and מְבַשֵּׁר occur.³

b. Septuagint Text adjective,

Ἑρ ὥρα is read by the plural ὥραι, by Codices Q margin, 88, 22^c, 62, and many others, the Syro-Hexaplar, Theodoret and Paul in Romans 10:5. ἐπὶ...ὥς is omitted by Codex 88 and Paul. ὥς πόδες is read οἱ πόδες by Codices 88, 22^c, 93 and Paul, it is read ὥς οἱ πόδες by Codice 36^c. ὥς^{is/} omitted by 62, 90, and other minuscule MSS. Theodoret omits ὥς while Tertullian omits πόδες. εὐαγγελιζομένου is read εὐαγγελιζόμενοι by Codices 106, and 87*, it is read τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων by Paul. ὥς before εὐαγγελιζόμενος is omitted by the Lucian recension Codices 62, 86^c, 456 and other minuscule MSS, Theodoret,

1. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

2. G. Zuntz, The Text of the Epistles, Oxford University Press, London, 1951, p.173, for a contrary opinion.

3. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

and Hilary in agreement with the MT. εὐαγγελιζόμενος is read in the genitive singular εὐαγγελιζομένου by 88 and Codices 109 and 736^C of Origen's Hexapla. ἀκουστήν is read ἀκουστόν by Codex 456. ποιήσω is read ποιήσαι by Codex 62 and the Syro-Hexaplar.¹ It seems significant that Paul is supported where he varies from the LXX B text by a number of "lesser" texts. In his use of the plural ^{adjective,} ὅρατοι, he is supported by the Syro-Hexaplar, Q, 88, 22^C, 62 and many others plus Theodoret. His omission of ἐπὶ...ὥς is supported by Codex 88. Paul's reading of the article οἱ before πόδες is supported by Codices 88, 22^C, 93, and 36^C. ὥς before πόδες is omitted by several uncial MSS, Theodoret, Tertullian, the Lucian recension, several uncials, Hilary, together with the MT. Origen reads with LXXB but Aquila substitutes τὶ ὠραιώθησαν for ὥς ὥρα. Symmachus has τὶ εὐπρεπεῖς for the same phrase while Theodotion has ὥς εὐπρεπεῖς. This would indicate that Origen followed his LXX text, for he often made corrections to the other texts when the other texts were closer to the Hebrew.² It might be argued that the Syro-Hexaplar "which is a very careful translation of Origen's hexaplaric recension"³ used another text in which ὥρατοι was used instead of Origen's ὥρα. This taken together with the Lucian recension's ὥς, especially when it is thought that "Lucian worked quite independently of the Origen text",⁴ seems to indicate that Paul was not just quoting from a faulty memory, but had another text of the OT in mind. There seems to be a group of texts, including Theodoret, which reflect Paul and add some validity to this hypothesis,

1. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14, Isaias.

2. B.J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1951, p.138.

3. E. Würthwein, The Text of the Old Testament, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1957, p.40.

4. Roberts, p.141.

though admittedly this is, at best, only an assumption, for the changes in the text may be accounted for on the grounds of convenience or exegetical changes in Paul. The scribes for the Syro-Hexaplar and Lucian recension may have made scribal errors perhaps because they may have been more familiar with Paul than with the Isaiah text. Q and the other minuscule MSS may have been corrected to read with Paul. But, at least, there is an outside chance that here Paul used another text of the LXX.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The first twelve verses of Isaiah 52 contain a prophecy or vision of God's redemption of Israel from bondage so that the people will know His name. "The passage is one of consolation to Israel in the Babylonian captivity and may well be regarded as the prophecy of the restoration."¹ In this restoration of Israel into the grace and fellowship of God, the good news of this restoration and salvation will be carried by men. In stating the blessedness of this message Isaiah describes poetically in 52:7 how welcome the messengers of this message will be. The joy and rejoicing occasioned by the message will cause the people to attribute to the messenger all the qualities of the message he bears. It is from this verse that Paul selects a few phrases to describe the messengers of Christ's Gospel.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul's citation here follows neither the Hebrew nor the LXX though Paul follows the Hebrew more closely than the LXX.² He

1. Murray, Vol.II, p.59.

2. Liddon, p.188.

omits על ההרים (ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων) because it has only local reference.¹ ὧρα (ἡ ὥρα) is changed to ὥρατοι by Paul. There is Old Latin MS evidence as early as the second century for the reading of the LXX. Though Toy shows that this could easily have been a corruption from a text which read ὡς ὥρατοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων οἱ πόδες.² Paul omits ὡς and adds the plural article οἱ before πόδες (רגלי) thus making the phrase plural to suit his purpose better.³ He adds τῶν before the participle εὐαγγελιζόμενου and at the same time makes the participle plural. Paul omits משמיע שלום מבשר (ἀκοήν...εὐαγγελιζόμενος) and the rest of the verse after טוב (ἀγαθόν). Ellis is not quite correct when he says this citation is at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary.⁴ Both the Hebrew and the LXX have "on the mountains" yet Paul omits any mention of "mountains", so Paul varies from both texts in some places where they agree as well.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

De Waard indicates that the MT of Isaiah 52:7 differs from 1QISa^a and 1QISa^b completely on secondary grounds in both scrolls, but he does not indicate what these grounds are.⁵ There is also a reference in the LQH 18:14 to Isaiah 52:7 where it is given almost the same meaning as in Isaiah 52:7.⁶

1. Liddon, p.188; Sanday and Headlam, p.297.

2. Toy, p.150.

3. Sanday and Headlam, p.297.

4. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

5. De Waard, p.6.

6. cf. Holm-Nielsen, p.352. Mansoor, p.191.

b. Midrash

There are at least three references to Isaiah 52:7 in Midrash Rabbah.¹ The reference in Lamentations is a fanciful one that contrasts those things that have both good and bad relationships to Israel. In this instance it is noted that Israel has "feet that run to evil" and this is contrasted with the "feet of the messenger of good things" with much the same idea as that in Paul. The references in Leviticus and Deuteronomy are given in reference to the messengers who announce the Messiah.

c. Talmud

There is only one reference to Isaiah 52:7 in the Talmud.² It has no Messianic reference but is only cited rather arbitrarily in connection with the interpretation of dreams.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This passage in Isaiah is clearly eschatological and Messianic. It is clear, however, that the prophet probably had in mind the redemption of Jewish prisoners of the Babylonian captivity.³ It is clear that the Rabbis understood this passage as Messianic⁴ as well. These words are a prophecy that the Jews in Babylonian captivity would so long for the news of their release and restoration to Palestine that the most beautiful thing they could imagine would be the runner running to announce to all that their return to Palestine had been granted. The "good things" has reference to the message of the Jews' release so they may return to their homeland. "Publish peace" has reference to the

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1. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah; Leviticus, p.120; Deuteronomy, p.118; Lamentations, p.148.
 2. The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth, p.348.
 3. Plummer, p.518; Johnson, p.150.
 4. Meyer, Vol.II, p.187; Johnson, p.150.

deep-seated and soul-satisfying peace that resulted from the message of such "good tidings". So that, though the passage is Messianic and perhaps has overtones of a spiritual redemption, yet the main idea is that of physical redemption from Babylonian captivity. Runners were the usual means of spreading the news and the prophet visualizes the great joy with which such a runner with such a message of redemption would be received.

Paul quotes these words without showing any concern for the context or the historical connection. The real difficulty concerns what this quotation is cited to prove.¹ There are several interpretations given by different writers.² Calvin³ considers that this citation is introduced to justify the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles. It is cited in support of $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota$ in verse fourteen. The possibility of adopting such an interpretation depends, of course, upon the view taken of the argument of the whole chapter. In this case the logical connection seems wrong. If this is what Paul intended to say, he must have said 'Salvation is intended for the Gentile as well as for the Jew, for God has commissioned His ministers to preach to them.' Paul is not trying to justify his mission to the Gentiles, but to show the culpability of the Jews.

Roman Catholic commentators,⁴ followed by Liddon,⁵ Leenhardt,⁶ Barrett,⁷ and John Murray,⁸ consider that the citation is introduced to justify an apostolic or authorized ministry. But

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.294.

2. See Calvin, Liddon, Meyer and others.

3. As quoted by Sanday and Headlam, pp.294-5.

4. Ibid.

5. Liddon, p.188.

6. Leenhardt, p.273.

7. Barrett, p.204.

8. Murray, Vol.II, p.58.

this idea is alien to the whole argument of this chapter. It is unnecessary for the development of the argument that Israel has had messengers sent to her, that she has not heeded them and therefore Israel is culpable.

H.A.W. Meyer,¹ followed possibly by F.F. Bruce,² considers that the citation is introduced to show "the necessity of the evangelical ἀποστολή" being established generally in order to set in sharp contrast the disobedience of the Jews. The establishment of the Church among the Gentiles might set the disobedience of the Jews in sharper contrast, but this, too, is not Paul's argument. He is not concerned in comparing or contrasting the Gentiles to the Jews. He points up the culpability of the Jews completely apart from the Gentiles. The best interpretation seems to be that of Sanday and Headlam which is followed by Nygren³ and Dodd⁴, Sanday and Headlam largely follow Chrysostom. Paul has shown that the Jews have neglected God's way of righteousness. They will naturally ask, "In what way have we neglected to obtain God's righteousness?" Paul, therefore must show that they had opportunity to hear, but neglected to do so, so that their ignorance is culpable. To do so he begins by asking what are the conditions necessary for "calling upon the Lord" and then shows that God has met these conditions but that the Jews have not heeded. The quotation is introduced to verify the fulfilment of these conditions.⁵ Chrysostom sums it up well:

"If the being saved, then, came of calling upon Him, and calling upon Him from believing, and believing from hearing, and hearing from preaching, and preaching from being

1. Meyer, Vol.II, p.185.

2. The Epistle to the Romans, p.205.

3. Nygren, p.385.

4. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, pp.169-170.

5. Sanday and Headlam, p.295.

"sent, and if they were sent, and did preach, and the prophet went round with them to point them out, and proclaim them, and say that these were they whom they showed of so many ages ago, whose feet they even praised because of the matter of their preaching; then it is quite clear that the not believing was their own fault only. And that because God's part had been fulfilled completely."¹

Thus Paul uses this citation, which as a prophetic utterance of the joy with which release from Babylonian captivity would be greeted by the Jews, to prove the fulfilment of the conditions for belief on the part of God. This citation forms the climax of Paul's series of rhetorical questions in vss. fourteen and fifteen which concerns the 'sending' of the preachers. Perhaps the word 'feet' in the Isaiah quotation suggested to Paul those who are 'sent' to 'run' for God as bearers of the good news, which now of course is the good news of Jesus Christ. Paul applies this citation in a practical sense to all those who bear the good news of Jesus Christ.²

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.295.
2. Stifler, p.190.

ROMANS 10:16THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:16

Ἰουδας γὰρ λέγει,

Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 53:1

מי האמין לשמעתנו

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 53:1

מן הימין לבסורתנא

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 53:1

Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLEL PASSAGEJOHN 12:38

Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;

1. Stenning, pp.178-9.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the third time in Romans that Paul has referred to Isaiah by name and the eighth time he has referred to the book of Isaiah. This formula which occurs only this once in Paul is used nowhere else in the NT.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Codices F and G read τοῦ εὐαγγελίου for τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.¹ Codex X * adds ἐν before τῷ and Codex 69 reads ἐπίστευσαν and omits τις. Codex 103 of von Soden's H group of MSS (1908) and Codex 8157 of his Ia₃ group⁽⁵⁴⁷⁾ add καὶ βραχίων τινι ἀποκαλύφθη after ἡμῶν.² The first variant does not occur in the citation, but since it occurs in the verse we note it. The next two variants are neither well supported by the textual evidence nor do they occur as variants in the LXX. The last variant is an evident addition by a scribe to make Paul's citation include the whole of Isaiah 53:1.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

יְד is read יָד by Codex 250. It is read יָד by 524 according to Kennicot's Authority.³ However, since these variants are not recorded by Kittel and since there is some question as to the accuracy of Turpie⁴ I hesitate to attach much importance to them.

b. Septuagint Text

No variant is listed by Ziegler for the part of the verse which occurs in the citation.⁵

1. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

2. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.679.

3. Turpie, The Old Testament in the New Testament, p.107.

4. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

5. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14, Isaias.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Our citation here forms the first clause of the first verse of one of the most familiar portions of the entire OT, Isaiah 53:- It is the best known of the Servant Songs and refers either to the nation of Israel collectively or to an individual. The theme of the song is that of vicarious suffering on the part of the Servant. The words of the citation indicate that the message of God's Servant is not heeded and consequently later in the song this leads to his vicarious death.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

This is the eleventh verbatim citation¹ from the LXX, which translates faithfully the Hebrew except that the Hebrew has no equivalent for $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\iota\epsilon$.² Therefore, Ellis is right in saying that this citation is in agreement with the LXX against the Hebrew.³

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Parallel Quotations

The same citation is given in John 12:38. The citation is a verbatim quotation of the LXX. The citation in John contains both clauses of Isaiah 53:1 whereas the citation in Romans 10:16 contains only the first clause. It is highly unlikely that Paul had read the Fourth Gospel and no evidence is available to show that the Fourth Evangelist had read the Epistle of Romans.⁴

b. Apostolic Fathers

There is a reference to Isaiah 53:1 in I Clement XVI,2. Clement begins Chapter 16 with the admonition that Christ is with the

1. See Table I, p. 402.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.297.

3. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

4. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.39.

lowly but opposed to those who would exalt themselves over the flock. He cites Christ as an example of lowliness for all to follow and shows how this was in accordance with Scripture by citing almost the whole of Isaiah 53, including this citation, verbatim from the LXX. Clement applies it Messianically without reference to its historical setting.¹

c. Qumran Literature

The texts of 1QISa^a and 1QISa^b are identical with the MT for Isaiah 53:1.²

Dupont-Sommer and Holm-Nielsen see an allusion to Isaiah 53:1 in 1QH Hymn, 14, Column 8:14.³ However, the allusion, if it is an allusion, is very slight indeed.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Isaiah 53:1 may be understood as referring to the Servant of Yahweh either in a collective sense or as referring to the appearance of a single individual charismatic leader,⁴ however this is a greatly disputed question. Isaiah seems to imply in this citation that though he has spread widely the news of this coming Servant - so few have believed his report that he is warranted in asking "Who, if any, has believed my message about the Coming Servant?" A historical situation is represented. Isaiah actively prophesied a coming Servant; he widely published his message; but he was nationally disbelieved. This represents a literal, historical experience in the life and ministry of Isaiah.⁵

It is difficult to know just with what intent Paul introduces

1. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.13, 63.

2. De Waard, p.6.

3. Holm-Nielsen, p.143; A. Dupont-Sommer, p.227.

4. Ernest Best, The Letter of Paul to the Romans, Cambridge University Press, 1967, p.387.

5. Barrett, p.205.

this citation. This verse ^{is/} in a section (vs.14-21) which is

"in style, one of the most obscure portions of the Epistle. The obscurity arises from the argument being founded on passages of the Old Testament. Some trains of thought are carried on too far for the Apostle's purpose, while others are so briefly hinted at as to be hardly intelligible.¹

While we may not wish to state the problem of this passage quite as starkly as does Jowett, yet it is evident that he is largely right.² This section appears to suggest a series of difficulties to which short decisive answers are given. The difficulty raised here is that not all have accepted the gospel. The answer is that this does not prove that the gospel was not preached for Isaiah complains that his preaching of the coming Servant was believed by only a very few and this is prophetic of the reception of the gospel of the Messiah in the Messianic Age.³

Here Paul, though still without reference to context or historical connection, gives this citation a literal interpretation. The only difference is that Isaiah at most perhaps had in mind only the rejection by Israel of the message concerning a charismatic leader who was to arise from among his brethren. But Paul sees in this citation a prophecy of the rejection of Jesus the Messiah by the Jews. He is thinking of "how overwhelmingly unbelieving Israel has been."⁴ In chapter ten Paul is reflecting on the Jewish rejection of Christ as Messiah and is going to ask in chapter eleven whether this means that God has rejected his people Israel. He uses the citation from Isaiah 53:1 as scriptu-

1. Benjamin Jowett, The Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians; Galatians and Romans, John Murray, 1894, p.316.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.214.

3. Ibid, p.293.

4. Munck, Paul, and the Salvation of Mankind. p.46.

ral confirmation of Israel's refusal to heed the voice of the prophets and now in this last day to respond to the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

ROMANS 10:18THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:18

μενοῦν γε,

εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξηλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ
πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 19:4(19:5)

בכל הארצ יצא קרם ובקצה תבל מליהם

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 19:4(18:5)

εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξηλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ
πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Most writers do not regard $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu \gamma\epsilon$ as an IF,¹ however, I choose to follow Ellis² here. The citation is set in a series of quotations from the OT. It is preceeded in 10:16 by the IF Ἡ οὐταc λέγει it is followed in 10:19 by $\text{Μοϋσοῆc λέγει} . \mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu \gamma\epsilon$ consists of three intensive particles,³ (the conjunction $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ is used as a particle).⁴ Nigel Turner notes that this expression is used three times in the NT. Luke 11:28, Romans 9:20 where Codex p46 corrects it, and here where Codices F and G (and other MSS plus Origen - see below) correct it.⁵ Arndt and Gingrich say the phrase states a correction and is to be rendered "rather".⁶ Sanday and Headlam say of $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu \gamma\epsilon$ - that it is "an emphatic corrective, with a slight touch of irony."⁷ $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu \gamma\epsilon$ emphasizes the implied negation in the question.⁸ Shedd believes rightly, I think, that it is not in irony, as in 9:20, but in emphatic earnest.⁹ Paul seeks to answer a possible objection that not all have heard the Gospel which the question of verse sixteen may have raised in the mind of the Jews. Since he has cited Scripture in verse sixteen, he now introduces Scripture in answer to this supposed objection with three emphatic particles, perhaps introducing it in the most emphatic way he knew in the Greek language. There is a contrast between $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta$ of verse sixteen and seventeen with $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ of verse seventeen. These verses may be paraphrased to read: "Do you say, not all have

1. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, pp.295-297.

2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.166.

3. cf. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament, p.1148.

4. Dana and Mantey, p.255.

5. J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, p.338.

6. Arndt and Gingrich, p.152.

7. Sanday and Headlam, p.298.

8. Boise, p.96.

9. Shedd, p.324.

heard this Gospel, because Isaiah, himself, says "Lord, who has believed our report?" but rather and much more to the point, I quote¹ It does not seem probable that Paul would answer a problem arising from Scripture with a verbatim citation from the OT introduced by three intensive particles, (μενοῦν γε) which are sandwiched in between two definite IFs, without intending that they be used as an IF.²

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Codices F, G, d*, f, g, Origen, omit μενοῦν γε, Codices D* and d*, add γάρ after εἰς πᾶσαν.³

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

אֲנִי is better read אֲנִי. The LXX, Symmachus and Jerome propose, but not correctly, קרם for קרם. רבקה should perhaps be read with Aquila as רלקה.⁴

b. Septuagint Text

Psalm 18:5. There are no variants listed by Rahlfs.⁵ Aquila reads ὁ κανὼν αὐτῶν. Symmachus reads ἀλλ' εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξηλθεν ἡ ἦχος αὐτῶν.⁶

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The nineteenth Psalm from which this citation is taken is a psalm which sets forth Nature as a revealer of God. The whole universe is seen as revealing its Creator to such an extent that this

1. J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of the New Testament Greek, p.338.

2. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.95.

3. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.241; von Soden, Vol.II, p.680.

4. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

5. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10, Psalmi cum Odis.

6. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

revelation is everywhere evident, though it may not be comprehended as such by everyone. Our citation occurs in this context as a statement of the universality of natural revelation.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

For the twelfth time, Paul gives verbatim¹ a quotation of the OT in the language of the LXX. The LXX is a faithful translation of the Hebrew except for $\phi\theta\delta\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ "their sound or note" which translated קוֹם "line" or "measuring line". A number of writers point out that קוֹם may mean a string or cord of a lyre or other stringed instrument and then by an easy transition to mean the note or sound emitted by such a cord or string. $\phi\theta\delta\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ also may mean an instrument of sounding such as a cord, string, or hole in a pipe, etc.² or a note in a tune, or even the harmony of a tune.³ Though Arndt and Gingrich give no such meaning for this word.⁴ Thus the two words may have had largely the same connotation. While some have thought that קוֹם was read קוֹלֵם or קלֵם since it also occurs in verse four and also since there is close resemblance between ו and ל.⁵ However, this seems unnecessary in view of the breadth of connotation of the Hebrew and Greek words and especially in view of Symmachus' rendering of קוֹם as ἤχος.⁶

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Apostolic Fathers

John Lawson⁷ is in error when he says Clement in I Corinthians 27

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1. Boise, p.96; Sanday and Headlam, p.298. See Table I, p.402
 2. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, pp.99-100.
 3. cf. The Book of Wisdom 19:18, A.T.S. Goodrick, The Book of Wisdom, Rivingtons, London, 1913, p.273. See also Wm.J. Deane, The Book of Wisdom, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881, p.109.
 4. Arndt and Gingrich, p.865.
 5. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, p.99.
 6. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.
 7. Lawson, p.41.

quotes Psalm 19:1-4 for the quotation there does not contain verse four. Clement's citation ends at verse three.

b. Qumran Literature

There is reference to Psalm 19:1-4 in 1QH 1:29 where the words of Psalm 19:1-4 are perhaps used as the model.¹

There is a hymn attached to the end of the Manual of Discipline 10:1-9 in which the psalmist has expressed similar wonder at the orderliness of the universe and its reflection of the glory of God's eternal Law.²

c. Midrash

There are four references to Psalm 19:4 (18:5) in the Midrash,³ three of which refer to a part of the verse not in our citation. The other⁴ speaks of the revelation of God in nature in a somewhat dissimilar way to Paul.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

It seems clear that the psalmist is waxing poetical about the way in which God is revealed in Nature. He begins by saying "the heavens declare the glory of God" and continues on in verse two to personify Nature as a revealer of God. In verses three and four he speaks of the universality of this revelation. It is apparent that the psalmist does not have the messages of the prophets in mind,⁶ perhaps not even in the sense of man being an agent of Nature. The psalmist's eyes are turned heavenward. It is the heavens that speak

1. Holm-Nielsen, pp.18, 26; Mansoor, p.103.

2. Lucetta Mowry, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early Church, The University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp.210-11.

3. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, pp.46, 409, Leviticus, p.329; Ecclesiastes, p.17.

4. Ibid, Leviticus, p.329.

6. Arnold and Ford, p.247.

and man everywhere, universally, is the receiver of the message of Nature. It has a "strict literal and primary meaning" in reference to creation.

Paul does not seem to be concerned here with the context and purpose of the psalmist. Neither does he intend to say that the psalmist "had reference to the gospel" in these words.² He simply uses scriptural language to clothe his own ideas.³ He does not use these words as a proof text to prove his basic contention.⁴ However, the Scripture is not used without a reason. In the psalm the psalmist is concerned to show the universality of the revelation of God in Creation. Paul is concerned to show that the gospel is universal in its scope, not that it has been universally preached,⁵ but that it is to be representatively preached throughout the world.⁶ Though it is true as Hengstenberg remarks:

"The universal revelation of God in nature, was a providential prediction of the universal proclamation of the gospel. If the former was not fortuitous, but founded in the nature of God, so must the latter be. The manifestation of God in nature, is, for all his creatures to whom it is made, a pledge of their participation in the clearer and higher revelations."⁷

It seems unnecessary to bring into consideration here that the psalmist and Scripture in general, regard general and special revelation as complementary,⁸ to explain the fact that the psalm speaks of

2. Barnes, p.223.

3. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.95; Hodge, p.349.

4. Philip Schaff, The International Illustrated Commentary on the New Testament, Vol.III, Charles Scribners Sons, New York, 1888, p.111.

5. Sanday and Headlam, p.299; Schaff, Vol.III, p.111.

6. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.99.

7. as quoted by Hodge, p.349.

8. Murray, Vol.II, p.61.

general, while Paul refers the citation to special revelation. Paul sees in the revelation of God in Nature an analogy of the universal character of the Gospel. He does not reject the literal reference to revelation in Nature but enlarges it and applies it to the universality of the gospel. The quotation gives him a suitable poetic text for the universal outreach of the Gospel and implies for Paul that the nations (Jews and Gentiles) have indeed heard the Gospel, and as vss. 19-21 show, the Gentiles have responded to and the Jews have rejected the Good News. Thus, all have had a chance to hear: not all have accepted.

ROMANS 10:19THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:19

Μωϋσῆς λέγει,

ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπ' ἔθνει ἁσυνέτω
παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR DEUTERONOMY 32:21

וְאֲנִי אֶקְנִיָאִם בְּלֹא עִם בְּגוֹי נָבֵל אֲכַעִיסֵם

THE TARGUM¹ FOR DEUTERONOMY 32:21

וְאֲנִי אֶקְנִינֵן בְּלֹא עִם בְּעַמָּא טַפְשָׁא אַרְגִּיזִינֵן

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR DEUTERONOMY 32:21

καὶ ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπ' ἔθνει ἁσυνέτω
παροργιῶ αὐτούς.

1. A. Berliner, p.236.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the third time Paul refers to Moses by name in his IF.¹ This very simple formula is not used elsewhere in the NT. It is a variation of the other IFs in Romans 9:15, 10:5 which we have considered and especially of the formulas in Matt. 22:24 Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν, Mark 7:10 Μωϋσῆς γάρ εἶπεν, and Hebrews 12:21 Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν . Only in Romans is the verb used in the present tense, which may be the specific aoristic present (constative) or the historical present rather than expressing the durative sense.² Only here is it used so simply in connection with Μωϋσῆς.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

γάρ is added after ἐγώ by Codex 37. αὐτοῦς is read by K^c, C, and Ethiopic versions in apparent correction to conformity with the LXX. F, L, G, P, and a few other MSS read τι ἐπὶ ἔθνει with Chrysostom and Theodoret.³ γάρ is added after ἐγώ by Codex 69.⁴ These variants supported by only a few of the less important MSS, do not have sufficient evidence to be incorporated into the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Deut. 32:21 - καὶ ἐγώ is read καὶ ἐγώ by Codices g, l, s, and x. παραζηλώσω is read παραζήλω by Codex i. ἐπ' οὐκ is transposed by Eusebius in about one-sixth of his citations. ἔθνη is read ἔθνη by Codices M, N, b, c, g*, h, k, n, r, z, and a₂. ἐπ' ἔθνη is omitted by Codices f, and g*. ἔθνη before

1. Romans 9:15, 10:5.

2. Robertson, The Grammar of the Greek New Testament.

3. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.421.

4. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.680. Codex 69 is von Soden's δ 505 MS.

ἁρνεῖται is read ἔθνη by MSS M, b, c, d, h, n, o, p, w, and a₂. αὐτοῖς is read αὐτοῖς by Origen's Greek text about one-fifth of the time.¹ Origen translates עַם בְּלֹא as ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνη ἄλλος ἐν τῷ λαῷ and בְּנֵי נֹכְחִי as ἐπ' ἔθνη ἁρνεῖται while Aquila exchanges ἁρνεῖται for ἀπορρέουσι.²

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The words of our citation occur in the Song of Moses. The first fourteen verses ascribe praise to God and from verse fifteen on, Moses upbraids Israel for apostasy and perversity.³ Verse twenty-one, which contains the words of our citation, begins with the statement that Israel has moved God to jealousy by that which is not God and provoked Him to anger by their vanities. God then declares in the words of our citation "I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation." The chapter continues in this vein to verse forty-four.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul changes from ἐγώ to ἐγώ because there was no need for the conjunction καί which was needed in Deut, 32:21. He also substitutes ὑμᾶς for αὐτοῖς in both instances. In the citation Moses was perhaps speaking prophetically and so in looking forward to a future generation he used αὐτοῖς, but Paul wishes to apply the words of Moses to the Israelites of his day, so he changes the αὐτοῖς to ὑμᾶς. The LXX is a correct translation of the Hebrew.⁴

1. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, Part III; Numbers and Deuteronomy.

2. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.I.

3. Murray, Vol.II, p.62.

4. Toy, p.157.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

De Waard says of Deut. 32:21 that only one word of the Hebrew text occurs in the MS fragments found in Cave No.1. This one word of the text is identical with the MT.¹

b. Midrash and Talmud

There are two references² in Midrash Rabbah to Deut. 32:21, neither of which help us much in determining how this verse was understood. The first reference is quoted to indicate that "jealousy" denotes nought but "anger" and the other is similar.

There is only one reference in the Talmud³ to Deut. 32:21. Here the citation is made to refer "to a bad wife the amount of whose kethubah is large." It is also referred to the Sadducees. It is not used in the way Paul uses it at all.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This citation, as is noted above, occurs in the Song of Moses. It seems to have more of a prophetic reference than a reference to the situation of Israel of Moses' generation.⁴ The context does not indicate what nation God will use to provoke Israel to jealousy and anger. But since they have used that which is not God to provoke God to anger the implication is that God will use another nation or people which is apart from Israel to provoke Israel to jealousy and anger.⁵ Though it is a prophecy probably based upon Moses' experience with Israel, yet Moses no doubt had in mind an actual people or

1. De Waard, p.13.

2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah; Numbers, pp.258, 328.

3. The Babylonian Talmud, Yebamoth, Vol.I, p.424.

4. A. A. Livermore, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, Walker, Wise and Co., Boston, 1861, p.176.

5. Sanday and Headlam, p.300.

nation to which God would turn to provoke Israel. It is doubtful that Moses thought of God turning to the whole of the Gentile world as such or of God extending salvation to the whole of mankind apart from Israel.¹ Though it may be implied, it is not clear that Israel was to be rejected as a people but only that they would be made jealous and angry by God's acceptance or favourable treatment of another people or nation.

Though Paul refers to the Gentiles in 10:12-13 he has Israel in primary focus throughout in these verses.² Paul shows that the Jews had the means to know³ that they would lose the favour of God by their obstinacy and rebellion⁴ and that God would then turn to the Gentiles.⁵ This citation therefore amounts to a proof text to prove that what he maintained was actually taught long before by Moses.⁶ The interpretation that Paul gives is that the Jews are now provoked to jealousy and anger because the Gentiles who had not heretofore enjoyed God's favour as Israel had, had now become the recipient of the favour which Israel had despised.⁷ Paul applies the citation to the Gentiles as a whole. The prophecy of Moses has been fulfilled literally. Paul, as usual, does not concern himself with the context or the circumstances which led to the writing of this verse. He sees in it a prediction which could appropriately be applied to the circumstances of the Jews rejecting and the Gentiles accepting the Messiah. This is a literal interpretation of the prophecy of Moses in which the prophecy is made to include the "message of grace to the Gentiles throughout the whole world."⁸

1. Stuart, p.363.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.299; F.E.Hamilton, The Epistle to the Romans, The Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co., Philadelphia, 1958, p.181. Best, p.123.

3. Sanday and Headlam, p.299.

4. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.100, Barnes, p.225.

5. Hodge, pp.349-350. See also Stuart, p.363.

6. Barnes, p.224.

7. Murray, Vol.II, p.62.

8. Codet, p.388.

ROMANS 10:20THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:20

Ἦκουσας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει,

εὗρέθην (ἐν) τοῖς ἑμέ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην τοῖς
ἑμέ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 65:1

נדרשתי ללוא שאלו נמצאתי ללא בקשני

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 65:1

אשתאילית במימרי לדלא שאילו מו קדמי.... אמרית האנא
משתאיל תדירא כל יומא לעם דלא מצלי בשמי:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 65:1

ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθην τοῖς ἑμέ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὗρέθην τοῖς ἑμέ
μὴ ζητοῦσιν.

1. Stenning, p.215.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

For the fourth time Paul mentions Isaiah by name in his IF. This is a slight modification of the IF of 10:16. The only difference is the omission of γάρ and the addition of δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ . With the exception of Romans 9:29 and II Cor. 6:16-18, every time Paul uses any proper name, θεός, Κύριος or γραφή in connection with a verb in the IF, the verb is in the present indicative.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ is omitted by D*, G, and the Old Latin, Vulgate and Syriac versions. ἐν is interpolated into the text after εὐρεθῆν by p46, B, D*, G, Westcott and Hort margin and ἐν is also interpolated into the text after ἐγενόμην by B, D*, Westcott and Hort margin.¹ Codex 162 of von Soden's H group of MSS (81) and Codices δ 353 and δ 260 of his Ia₃ and Ib₂ groups^(999,440) omit μὴ before ζητοῦσιν . Codex δ 206 of his Ib₁ group⁽²⁴²⁾ reads ἐπι-ζητοῦσιν for ἐπερωτῶσιν .² The evidence supporting the text seems conclusive except in the case of the interpolation of ἐν , which is supported by the chief representatives of the Alexandrian and Western family of texts. However, the addition or omission of ἐν here does not significantly affect the meaning of the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Three MSS, LXX, Old Latin (Sabatier), and Brian Walton's Syriac Polyglott) version read יִנְלָאָשׁ for יִלָּאָשׁ of the MT.³

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1. Nestle and Aland.
 2. Von Soden, Vol. II.
 3. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

b. Septuagint Text

Isa. 65.1 - Codex 565 omits the whole verse. The phrase ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην κ.τ.λ. is transposed with the phrase εὐρέθην κ.τ.λ. by Codices 62, 90, 130, 131, 403, Origen and Clement of Alexandria. ἐγενόμην is read ἐγενήθην by Codices S^C(X^C), Q, 26, B, V, C, 88, 407 (Θη), 410, 534, and Justin. Aquila, Theodotion and Codex 86 have ἐξεζητήθην for ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην . ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην is supported by Codices 36, 49, 86, 106, 109, 144, 147, 233, 239, 302, 305, Alexander of Alexandria, Clement of Alexandria, Basil, Chrysostom, and Cyril. εὐρέθην is read by Codices 62, 90, and 308. καὶ ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην is read by Codex 198. μὴ before ζητοῦσιν is omitted by Codices 103, 36*, 490, and 306. ἐπερωτῶσιν is read ἐρωτῶσιν by Codices 147 and 534, it is transposed with ζητοῦσιν by Lucian, Origen, Eusebius and Theodoret in accordance with the MT. μὴ before ἐπερωτῶσιν is omitted by Codices 36*, 311 and 403.¹

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The short chapter 64 that immediately preceeds Isaiah 65:1 begins with the expression of earnest hope for visitation from God (1-5) and continues on with the confession of sin (5-7), a fervent cry for mercy (8-9), a reminder of the desolation of Israel (10-11), and ends with a question: 'Wilt thou refrain thyself, O Lord?' Seemingly God begins an answer in chapter 65 and His first words are the words of Paul's citation "I am sought of them that asked not for me," etc. and goes on to tell of God's patience in dealing with rebellious, idolatry-loving Israel.

1. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14; Isaias.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul transposes the order of the two clauses. The LXX follows the order of the Hebrew. Strictly speaking, **יִתְגַּלֵּי** is not "I have become manifest" but "I have allowed myself to be found out" and so with **יִתְאָחַז** "I let myself be found".¹ These two verbs are Niphals and are "permissive reflexives".² Toy feels that **ἐμφανής** **ἐγενήθη** is from a different text word from our Hebrew MT.³ But perhaps this need not be the case. The translators of the LXX no doubt met with difficulty translating the Niphal as a "permissive reflexive" or as Turpie says, "the idiomatic difference of the two languages produces the variance."⁴ Further, the only other difference between the citation and the LXX is the use of **ἐγενόμην** by Paul for the **ἐγενήθη** of the LXX. Otherwise it is a verbatim citation of the LXX. Again, it seems to me Ellis is not correct when he says that Paul varies this citation from the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary.⁵ Paul differs from both in the order of clauses, the order of clauses in the LXX and Hebrew being identical - thus he differs from them where they agree. The use of **ἐγενόμην** instead of **ἐγενήθη** of the LXX is only a slight modification, and if the difference between the LXX and the Hebrew be understood as I have indicated above, it hardly constitutes a variation at all. While Liddon may be correct in believing that Paul changes the order of the clauses "possibly with a view to the order of ideas",⁶ I believe a more likely explanation is that Paul quoted from memory and so the clauses were turned around in his memory for there seems

1. Liddon, p.193.

2. Toy, p.153.

3. Ibid.

4. Turpie, The Old Testament in the New, p.115.

5. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.150.

6. Liddon, p.192.

little reason otherwise to change the order of the clauses.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

The MT differs here from 1QISa^a and 1QISa^b but only on completely secondary variants.¹

b. Midrash

There is a reference in Midrash Rabbah,² where Isaiah 65:1 is interpreted as meaning the Israelites who came murmuring to Moses because of lack of food and who blamed Moses for leading them out of Egypt. Moses instead of getting angry gives them "manna" thus "I gave access to them that asked not for Me, I was at hand to them that sought Me not."

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The first few verses of Isaiah chapter 65 form the answer God gives to Isaiah 64:12. "O, Lord wilt thou hold thy peace and afflict us very sore?" The answer is "I am sought of them that asked not for me, I am found of them that sought me not: I said behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name." Then God goes on in the words of Isaiah to show how widely Israel had departed from Him with whom they are in Covenant relation. The following fifteen verses give an account of Israel's rejection, except for a remnant, by God. I believe that Sanday and Headlam are wrong in applying the words of the citation to apostate Jews.³ The last

1. De Waard, p.6.

2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, p.304. cf. also Strack-Billerbeck, p.285, where he says there are only two passages in old Rabbinic literature containing Isaiah 65:1. One applies it to Israel and the other to non-Israelites.

3. Sanday and Headlam, p.300.

clause of the verse which is not included in the citation seems to rule out this interpretation. Also this verse stands in contrast to the following fifteen verses which lay the charge of apostasy against Israel. Accordingly verse one and the following verses could hardly have the same nation in view.¹ The last clause of verse one indicates that God has turned to another nation not to all the Gentiles as such. The verse of the citation seems to be a statement of fact rather than a prophecy although the following verses are prophetic and therefore verse one may be construed as prophetic as well. The idea of this section seems to be that of a temporal rejection of Israel and a temporal blessing of the remnant of Israel, perhaps together with the other nation spoken of in verse one, for there is nothing in the context that implies any other kind of rejection or acceptance than that related to physical and earthly history.

Paul takes these words which were spoken perhaps prophetically concerning God's turning to another nation in physical blessing and applies it to the whole world of the Gentiles. The Apostle, says Strack-Billerbeck, referred Isaiah 65:1 to the Gentiles, which is possible according to the words and context and the LXX seems to have joined in this interpretation, whereas the Targum undoubtedly referred it to Israel.² For Paul, God has turned to the Gentiles not to bless them necessarily in a physical way but to bless them with inclusion in the gospel of Christ.³ So a nation is enlarged to include all Gentiles and the blessing of salvation from sin. Paul takes the OT reference literally but enlarges its application. He

1. Godet, p.389.

2. Strack-Billerbeck, p.285.

3. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.103.

does not concern himself with the context or the historical connection, although verse twenty-one does encapsulate the context which Paul probably presumes his readers to have some familiarity with.

ROMANS 10:21THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 10:21

πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει,

ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπει-
θοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 65:2

פִּרְשֵׁתִי יָדַי כָּל הַיּוֹם אֶל עַם סוֹרֵר

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 65:2

שְׁלַחִית נְבִיִּי כָל יוֹמָא לֹת עַמָּא סַרְבְּנָא דְאַזְלִין בְּאוֹרַח
לֹא תִקְנָא בְּתַר עֲשִׁתוֹנִיָּהוֹן:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 65:2

ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπει-
θοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.

1. Stenning, pp.214-15.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This IF is but a continuation of the IF in verse twenty. The subject of λέγει is 'Hou'as of verse twenty. The πρὸς δὲ τὸν 'Ισραήλ is added for clarification as the indirect object of λέγει .

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

πρὸς λαὸν is read ἐπὶ λαὸν by Codex D and Clement.
καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα is omitted by Codex G and Hilary.¹ One MS reads εἰς λαὸν for πρὸς λαὸν. Codices D* and E read λέγοντα for ἀντιλέγοντα .² ἐξεπέτασα is read διεπέτασα by Codex (547) 8157 of von Soden's Ia₃ group of minuscule MSS. πρὸς is read ἐπὶ by Codex 1026 of his Ia₁ group, (α) and Clement of Alexandria. ἀντιλέγοντα is read λέγοντα by the same Codex 1026 (ο). (012) (510) 3
ἀντιλέγοντα is omitted by Codices 1028f in the same group of MSS.
These variants are not supported by sufficient evidence to warrant incorporation into the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

The LXX and the Old Latin (Sabatier) add מורה after 7770 .⁴

b. Septuagint Text

The entire verse omitted by Codex 565. ἐξεπέτασα is read διεπέτασα by Codices 109, 302, 305, 736₂, and 36*. ἐπὶ δέ σε is added before ἐξεπέτασα by Codex 544 and Eusebius. ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν is omitted by Justin, Athanasius and a few others. πρὸς is read ἐπὶ by Lucian Codices 22, 48, 198, 544, Justin, and

1. Nestle and Aland.

2. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.423.

3. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.680.

4. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

Clement. καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα is marked by an asterisk in Codices B, 2, 88, and the Syro-hexaplar.¹

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

See above in Romans 10:20.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

According to this study, this is the thirteenth time Paul has cited the LXX verbatim, the only difference being that Paul puts ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν first in the citation whereas the LXX and the Hebrew both put it after ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου . The ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα represents an expanded rendering of the Hebrew נָקִיב which means literally, being stubborn. נָקִיב is used of stubborn animals and the present participle indicates the continuance of the situation.² Toy thinks, erroneously I believe, that ἀπειθοῦντα is the translation of נָקִיב and ἀντιλέγοντα may be for the same word read as some form of נָקִיב "to draw back".³ If this should be the case, it would seem that the translators of the LXX had another Hebrew text for reference. One need not assume that here. It is simpler to see here only an attempt to bring out the full meaning of the Hebrew.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Post-Apostolic Fathers

There is a reference to Isaiah 65:2 in Barnabas 12:4.⁴ The citation in Barnabas follows the order of Paul with two minor changes -- ἀπειθοῦντα is read ἀπειθεῖ and ὁδὸς δικαίᾳ μου is

1. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14, Isaias.

2. Liddon, p.193.

3. Toy, p.153.

4. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.257, 281.

added at the end. Barnabas shows clearly Pauline influence in the order of the citation, but the added words may indicate the use of another text available to Barnabas. This citation is applied to Jesus and the literal stretching out of His hands on the cross. It is referred to Moses as a type of Christ who like Moses will stretch forth his hands, in suffering himself too, for the blessing and life of others.

b. Qumran Literature

1QH: 15, 18 quotes from Isaiah 65:2^b while Isaiah 65:2^a is quoted in Romans 10:21.¹ However, there seems to be no other reference to Paul's citation in the Qumran literature so far published.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Other than the fact that verse twenty-one refers to Israel and their rejection and verse twenty refers to the Gentiles and their acceptance, these two verses are used in precisely the same way by Paul.² In fact, verse twenty must not be dissociated in interpretation and application from verse twenty-one.³ It is the contrast between the acceptance of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews that is particularly relevant to Paul's thought here.

1. De Waard, p.62.

2. See above discussion on Romans 10:20.

3. Murray, Vol.II, p.63.

ROMANS 11:3THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 11:3

(ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ἐν ἡλίῳ τί) λέγει ἡ γραφή;

τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν,
καὶ ἐπελείφθην μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR I KINGS 19:10(14)

את מזבחתיך חרסו ואת וביאיך הרגו בחרב ואותר
אני לבדי ויבקשו את נפשי לקחתה:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR I KINGS 19:10(14)

καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου καθεῖλαν καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκ-
τειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλιμμαι ἔγω μόνωτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι
τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

In this long, closely reasoned, treatise on Israel's relationship to God and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Paul introduces this quotation from I Kings 19:10(14) as part of the evidence to show that God has not cast off His people. In doing so he uses the rather long, but quite specific introductory formula¹ ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε τί λέγει ἡ γραφή which is put in the form of a question. While other formulas are put in the form of questions, this is the only place in the NT where this precise formula is used. This is also the only place in the NT where Ἡλίας is mentioned by name in an IF. λέγει, which is the leading word for Paul in chapters 9-11 (used 12 times), occurs often elsewhere in connection with γραφή and other words, especially the names of OT figures.² Barrett speaks of this IF as "a curious expression which reflects a usage of Rabbinic Hebrew."³

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

There is no real question of the text here. Nestle in his 25th edition cites Codex A, the Koine texts and a number of other manuscripts as inserting λέγων at the end of verse two after Ἰσραήλ,⁴ however, this is not in the citation itself. In the citation itself Codex Claromontanus⁵ adds καὶ after ἀπέκτειναν as, according to von Soden,⁶ Justin Martyr, Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, and the Revised Ver-

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1. B. Metzger, The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the New Testament and the Mishnah, Journal of Biblical Literature, 70, 1951, p.297.
 2. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old, p.316.
 3. Barrett, p.208.
 4. Nestle and Aland.
 5. Tischendorf, Codex Claromontanus, Epistles of Paul, F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1852.
 6. Von Soden, Vol.II.

sion. This is against Tischendorf,¹ Kilpatrick,² Nestle and the UBS.³

There is difference of opinion as to how the text should be punctuated. Most editors⁴ take the introductory formula of verse two as a question and place a question mark in the text there, and a period at the end of verse three. However, some editors consider the question involves all of verse two and so place the question mark after 'Ισραήλ.⁵ Still others⁶ consider the whole of verse three as a question and put the question mark after μου at the end of verse three. While Le nouveau Testament de l'Ecole Biblique de Jérusalem, 1958, finds no question involved here at all, but puts an exclamation mark at the end of verse three.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The LXX inverts the order of the phrases and has καί as the conjunction between the two phrases. There are a number of references that can be cited both for and against the inclusion of καί here in the text, however, the evidence for leaving it out is on the whole stronger. The LXX is somewhat longer than the citation in the text of Romans and has the phrase τὰ θυσιαστήρια coming first.

4. THE CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The text in I Kings 19:10 is set in the context of Elijah's contest with the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel in which Elijah was

1. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

2. Kilpatrick, The Greek New Testament.

3. The Greek New Testament.

4. cf. Textus Receptus, A.V., R.V., A.S.V., N.E.B.

5. cf. Westcott and Hort, Bover (4th edition 1959); Nestle and Aland; R.S.V.; Die Heilige Schrift, Zürich, 1942.

6. Segond, Le Nouveau Testament; UBS; The Greek New Testament.

the overwhelming victor, so much so, that all the prophets of Baal who took part in the contest were slain. Thereupon Jezebel, the patroness of Baal, sought Elijah's life. Elijah fled to the Negev. God met him there with the question, What are you doing here? Elijah replies to God with I Kings 19:10 in which he refers not to the slaying of the prophets of Baal, but to the fact that Israel, in her zeal for Baal, had overturned the altars and killed all the prophets of God except him.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul has shortened the text of the LXX by the omission of ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ after ἀπέκτειναν and by the elision of καὶ with ἐγὼ into κἀγώ, also by the use of the aorist passive ὑπελείφθην with μόνος as against the use of the perfect passive ὑπολέλειμμαι μονώτατος of the LXX. Paul also leaves off the λαβεῖν αὐτήν at the end of the verse in the LXX, otherwise the texts are identical. The LXX is a literal translation of the MT with ὑπολέλειμμαι translating אָחַז (niph'al imperfect of אָחַז - to be left, to be let to remain) very adequately. There are no textual variants in the MT. However, there are two minor notations in Kittel's apparatus¹ in the text immediately preceding the words quoted by Paul. Of this phrase John Gray says that Codices G^b, L, and S read for the MT "They have forsaken thy Covenant" simply "they have forsaken Thee."²

In this loose quotation or paraphrase³ Paul inverts the two phrases "probably because the slaying of the prophets was a much

1. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

2. John Gray, I and II Kings, A Commentary, S.C.M. Press, London, 1964, p.364.

3. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, p.400.

graver sign of national apostasy than the destruction of altars. So Liddon believes.¹ Toy says the inversion of the two phrases "is without design" and may "be regarded as freedom of citation."² Sanday and Headlam say that the two clauses are "inverted perhaps to put into a prominent position the words τοὺς προφῆτας ἀπελείπειν."³ But it is needless to seek an explanation of the inversion.

Most writers agree that this quotation in Rom. 11:3 is a rather free use of the LXX.⁴ Liddon goes somewhat further, declaring, "The wording of this verse in Romans departs so far from LXX as well as from the Hebrew that it may be taken as a free translation of the Aramaic oral version: "I have left for myself", instead of the LXX "Thou wilt leave in Israel" and Hebrew "I will leave in Israel."⁵

It is generally held⁶ that Paul quoted this verse freely from memory, making those omissions and changes which would better express the existing conditions so as to further his argument more concisely.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

I Kings 19:10 is used in the Midrash⁷ in explaining the Song of Solomon 1:6 but the verse is used completely apart from the literal meaning of the text. It is used only to point out that God rebuked Elijah for speaking against Israel, God's people. This passage is not cited anywhere else in the NT nor is it referred to by Jesus.

1. Liddon, p.196.

2. Toy, pp.154-155.

3. Sanday and Headlam, p.311.

4. Godet, p.392; Shedd, p.330. See also Olshausen, p.359.

5. Liddon, p.155.

6. See Olshausen, p.359. See also Meyer, Vol.II, p.205.

7. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Esther, p.56.

Paul alone cites it to aid his argument that God has not rejected His people, Israel.

The nature of the passage here in I Kings 19:10, being a narrative of an incident in the life of Elijah, does not present many problems of interpretation. Montgomery and Gehman¹ say that the critics, in general, hold this passage as of secondary import because it is duplicated in more concise language in verses thirteen and fourteen.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

These words of Elijah which form the citation were spoken to God in honest appraisal of the religious situation in Israel. The nation had followed Jezebel, the patroness of Baal, in idolatry. So far as Elijah was concerned his words were literally true. The whole nation had turned against God and had thrown down everything that had to do with His worship. Of all the prophets he alone was left and Jezebel had put a bounty upon Elijah's head. This represents the religio-historical situation of Israel in Ahab's reign as Elijah saw it.

Paul, with only slight reference to the context and historical situation, cites these words of Elijah which referred originally to the Israel of Ahab's reign, with literal reference to the Jews of the first century A.D. He gives the sense, if not the exact words, of the original.² Paul says the same kind of situation prevailed in

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1. J.A. Montgomery, and H.S. Gehman, International Critical Commentary, The Book of Kings. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1960. p.313.
 2. Hodge, p.355.

his day as in the days of Elijah.¹ "There is an analogy, St. Paul argues, between this situation (of Elijah) and that of his own day."² He does this particularly in verse five. Elijah's speech and God's reply provide for Paul a *τύπος* or type of the situation of the Jews in his own day. So Paul takes words that were used nearly nine hundred years before by Elijah to describe the religious situation of Israel and uses them in the same sense³ of Elijah to describe the religious situation of the Jews in the early days of Christianity. He is not using this citation as a proof text, but is saying that it is an analogous situation.

1. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.108.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.311.

3. Barrett, p.208.

ROMANS 11:4THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 11:4

τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός;

κατέλιπον ἑμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν
γόνυ τῇ βάαλ.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR I KINGS 19:18

וַיִּשְׁאַרְתִּי בִּישְׂרָאֵל שִׁבְעַת אֲלָפִים כָּל הַבְּרָכִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא כָרְעוּ
לְבַעַל..

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR I KINGS 19:18

καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα
ἃ οὐκ ᾤκλασαν γόνυ τῷ βάαλ.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

The introductory Formula used here is unique. This is the only place in the NT where ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός is used. χρηματίζω originally meant in the active voice, to transact business, to decide or to ordain. In the passive voice it meant to assume a title, office or character. So Liddon,¹ Sanday and Headlam,² Arndt and Gingrich,³ give it the meaning: of God, "to impart a revelation" or "injunction", or "warning" (of oracles) in Diodorus Siculus, of the first century, B.C. in 3:6; 15:10; Dit. Syll. 663:13 (200 B.C.) ὁ θεός μοι ἐχρημάτισεν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον.

The word is found in the OT Jer. 32:30; 37:2; in II Mac. 2:4, and in Clement of Rome 17:5. In the passive voice it means a "revelation" or "warning" is given. The cognate verb χρηματίζω is not only used in the OT but several times in the NT as well. See the following.

		translated
Matt. 2:12	χρηματισθέντες	"being warned" of God
Matt. 2:22	χρηματισθείς	"being warned" of God
Luke 2:26	κεχρηματισμένον	"revealed to" him by the Holy Spirit
Acts 10:22;	ἐχρηματίσθη	"being warned" by a holy angel
[Rom. 7:3	χρηματίσει	"shall be called" an adulteress]
Heb. 8:5	κεχρημάτισται	"instructed" by God
Heb. 11:7	χρηματισθείς	"being warned" by God

1. Liddon, p.197.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.311.

3. Arndt and Gingrich, p.893.

In the active voice it is used of God often in Josephus and in Jeremiah 33:2; 36:23.¹ Hebrews 12:25. χρηματίζοντα "who warned" them on earth.

Thus in every case where it is used in Scripture, except Romans 7:3 χρηματίζω is used in reference to a revelation of some nature by God, either directly or through His messengers acting for Him. Further it is a word used by non-biblical writers with the same connotation of an oracle from deity. From this verb is derived χρηματισμός used by Paul.² Therefore it is evident that Ellis³ and Metzger⁴ are right when they consider this phrase in Romans 11:4 as a formula introducing a direct quotation, for the word has reference to the oracles of deity when used in connection with deity.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The text has some variants of a minor nature. Codices 260f (440, 1358) of von Soden's Ib₂ group of MSS_A read χρησμός for χρηματισμός. Codex 162 of his H group_A (81) reads κατέλειψα for κατέλειπον. Von Soden also lists several MSS which read κατέλειπον for κατέλειπον among which are A, C, Ψ and many other mostly later texts. For this reason his text reads κατέλειπον.⁵ Kilpatrick cites p46, G, 1739, and others with the same reading but does not incorporate κατέλειπον into his text.⁶ Codex δ 157 of von Soden's group Ia₃ of MSS_A (547) reads αὐτῷ for ἐμαντῷ. Codex δ 260 of his Ib₂ group_A (440) reads τὸ before γόνυ. τῷ for τῇ before

1. Liddon, p.197.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.312.

3. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.168.

4. Metzger, Journal of Biblical Literature, 70, Dec. 1951, pp.297-307.

5. Von Soden, Vol.II.

6. Kilpatrick, The Greek New Testament.

βάαλ is read by 1028f of his Ia_1 group.¹ All variants have very little and mostly late manuscript evidence supporting them. The important evidence lies with the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

The LXX text is that of Codex B. Codex A omits γόνυ otherwise the texts are the same.² Both Codices A and B change the Hebrew יְהִי מִנִּי from the first person to the second person singular καταλείψεις. It is difficult to understand why the translators of the LXX took ה for יְה in the Hebrew text. The context clearly indicates that the first person should be used in the verb. There are other places where the LXX differs quite a great deal from the MT where it is assumed by scholars that the translators have used a different Hebrew text. That may be the case here.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This verse in I Kings 19:18 is set in the same general context as verse three, so there is no need for further explanation of the context.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

There is some change made by Paul in this citation from the LXX. The citation has κατέλιπον ἑαυτῷ for καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ which is a substitution of the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτῷ for ἐν Ἰσραὴλ. The shorter form of ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας is substituted for the longer ἑπτα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν; οἵτινες γόνυ for πάντα τὰ γόνατα αἱ; and τῇ βάαλ is substituted for τῷ βάαλ. All in all this is quite a change from the LXX. Paul,

1. Von Soden, Vol.II.

2. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.I., p.682.

here, departs from the MT as well as from the LXX.¹ κατέλιπον
 ἑμᾶντῳ is a closer translation of יְהוָה than is κατα-
 λείψεις.² Yet Paul fails to include ἐν Ἰσραὴλ which the MT
 has as well as the LXX. Paul's purpose seems to be to give the
 same sense as these texts but in shorter more concise Greek. His
 use of the feminine article τῇ before βάαλ has confused com-
 mentators considerably. Wm. Shedd indicates that the use of the
 feminine article has been explained: 1) by supposing that Astarte
 is included, and that Baal is thus androgynous. (Reicke, Olshau-
 sen, Philippi). 2) that it is used to express Jewish contempt for
 idols. (Gesenius, Tholuck). 3) to agree with εἰκόνι under-
 stood. (Erasmus, Beza, Grotius, Bengel).³ However, Sanday and
 Headlam,⁴ following Dillman, see the use of the feminine article
 with βάαλ as the sign in the text of the LXX that αἰσχύνῃ
 is to be read instead of βάαλ, even though βάαλ was
 written in the text in much the same way that Yahweh is written
 with the pointing of Adonai in the MT. This seems understandable
 in view of the extreme monotheism of later Judaism which fostered
 the contempt the Jews later held for all idols. If Sanday and Head-
 lam are right in this, and it seems well attested, then this ex-
 planation is virtually the same as the one given by Shedd above in
 No.2, since there is close affinity between 'contempt' and the rea-
 ding of αἰσχύνῃ for βάαλ.

Here, as in verse three Paul quotes most likely from memory
 making changes as he does so, either from a faulty memory, or,
 what seems more likely, to make the OT citation express the idea he

1. Meyer, Vol.II, p.203.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.312. *Some question this because of the waw*

3. Shedd, p.331. See also Meyer, pp.204-205. *consecutive construction.*

4. Sanday and Headlam, p.312. See also Munch, Christ and Israel,
 p.109.

wants to set forth.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

This citation, like the citation in verse three, is quoted nowhere else in the N.T. in fact, the two citations are rarely cited in the Midrash or the Post-Apostolic Fathers or the Apocrypha.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The same situation and usage pertains here to this verse as in verse three, which see.

ROMANS 11:8THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 11:8

καθὼς γέγραπται,

"Ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦειν, ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR DEUTERONOMY 29:4(3)

ולא נתן יהוה לכם לב לדעת ועינים לראות ואזנים לשמע
עד היום הזה

THE TARGUM¹ FOR DEUTERONOMY 29:4(3)

ולא יהב יי לכון ליבא למידע ועינין למחזי ואודנין
למשמע עד יומא הדין

1. A. Berliner, p.231.

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR DEUTERONOMY 29:4

καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς
βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα ἀκούειν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 29:10

כי נסך עליכם יהיה רוח תרדמה ויעצם את עיניכם

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 29:10

ארי רמא ביניכון יהיה רוח דסער ואשמר מנכון ית נבייא

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 29:10

ὅτι πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως, καὶ καμύσει τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν.

1. Stenning, pp.92-93.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

In explaining what had happened to Israel Paul here introduces a quotation from Deuteronomy 29:4, and there is no doubt a reference to Isaiah 29:10 and an allusion to Isaiah 6:9, 10 as well. The citation is introduced by Paul's favourite introductory formula. καθὼς γέγραπται as some texts have it,¹ or καθάπερ γέγραπται as Nestle² has it in his 25th edition with the support of Codex B, and the eleventh century Codex 81.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

(2^{ap}) καὶ is omitted by Codex 253 in von Soden's Ib₁ group of MSS. ἕως is read ἄχρι by Codex 551 of the Ic₁ group and ἡμέρας is omitted by Codices 8507 of the Ia₃ group and 365 of the Ib₁ group.^{(241)¹}

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Rudolph Kittel in his latest edition (1951) lists nothing concerning these verses in his apparatus.⁴

b. Septuagint Text

Deuteronomy 29:4 - Codex 71 omits the entire verse. ὁ θεός is omitted by Codices g, h, n, x, Ethiopic version, Dillmann's Codex F, and Theodotion in one-half of his citations of this verse. ὑμῖν is read ὑμῶν by Codices F_b, b, c, f, j, l, m, s, v, and w; it is read ἡμῶν by Codices b, d, and e. καρδίαν is read καρδίας by Codex F_b; it is read καρδία by Codex f. τοῦ is added before εἰδέναι by Codex k. τοῦ is added before βλέπειν

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1. See the UBS. The Greek New Testament and von Soden who indicates all MSS except B, K, and 81 read καθὼς.
 2. Nestle and Aland, 25th Edition, 1963. See also Kirkpatrick, The Greek New Testament, 1954.
 3. von Soden, Vol.II.
 4. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

by Codex A and others. $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is also added before $\tilde{\omega}\tau\alpha$ by Codex A.¹

Isaiah 29:10 - $\tilde{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is read $\tilde{\eta}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ by Codex 36. The Syriac adds $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ after $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Codex 93 omits $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. $\pi\nu\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ is read $\pi\nu\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha$ by Codices S(κ), 93, 309, 301, 538 and Origen. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ before $\kappa\alpha\mu\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ is omitted by Codex 377. $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ is read $\tilde{\iota}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ by Lucian Codices 233, 456, and others.²

The Hebrew המרת is an interesting word, it means "deep sleep". It is translated here by $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\delta\acute{\xi}\epsilon\omega\varsigma$. Thus also Origen, Aquila translates it $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (weighed down, overcome, carried away). Symmachus translates it by $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, and Theodotion uses $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ to translate the Hebrew.³ It is used several times in the Old Testament and is translated by several Greek words in the LXX. It is translated $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in Genesis 2:21 and 15:12; by $\theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$ in I Samuel 26:12, by $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ in Proverbs 19:15 and by $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ or $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (very great fear) in Job. Gesenius says of its use here in Isaiah 29:10 that it is "used of very great inertness."⁴ It is also used in Psalm 60:3 in connection with wine and is translated $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\delta\acute{\xi}\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ which is rendered in the A.V. as "wine of astonishment". Many commentators⁵ translate it "wine of reeling". About this word Kittel says:

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1. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part III; Numbers and Deuteronomy.
 2. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14, Isaias.
 3. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.
 4. Gesenius.
 5. See Toy, p.156; Liddon, p.201; Meyer, Vol.II, p.208; Shedd, p.333.

"The context allows us only one rendering of πνεῦμα κατανύξεως namely, 'spirit of stupefaction'. This corresponds to the sense of the reference in Isaiah It is hard to believe that this is newly coined by the LXX. The word is already used metaphorically with no very close connection with the sense of piercing. This suggests a prior history for the figurative sense, which would explain why the LXX translator is not aware of the original meaning."¹

There is general agreement about the meaning of the Hebrew word, but there is difference of opinion as to the Greek κατα-νύξεως. Olshausen traces the root to νύω and says that it is not as in profane writers where it means "pricking" from νύσσω.² Meyer feels that every derivation is erroneous which does not go back to νύσσειν.³ Liddon says that it comes from κατανύσσω and originally meant to prick or to wound.⁴ Friske agrees with Liddon in tracing the etymology back to νύσσω which is used with the prefix κατά and others.⁵ Liddon holds with Meyer, that it is impossible to derive the κατανύξεως from νύω as Olshausen maintains. Liddon goes on to say that in the middle voice and the passive it meant undergoing overwhelming fear or any strong emotional stress. So it comes to mean "to be mentally or emotionally overwhelmed," "to be stunned speechless". Though it usually indicates mental or emotional disturbance, it can mean physical stupor as well, cf. Psalm 60:3. Parry points out that the meaning of the noun can not easily be made to parallel the use of the verb.⁶ Luther and Calvin take this word to mean "embittered".

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1. Gerhard Kittel, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, E.T., vol. III, p. 626.
 2. Olshausen, p.361.
 3. Meyer, Vol.II, p.208.
 4. Liddon, p.201.
 5. A. Friske, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 1960-1963, p.329.
 6. Parry, p.143.

However, it seems inadmissible to depart from the meaning of

תְּרִמָּה especially since Paul was familiar with both the LXX and the Hebrew text.¹

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The passage in Deuteronomy 29:4 is set in the last days of Moses. Moses has led the Children of Israel all the way from Egypt through forty years of wandering in the desert, and now they are in Moab just ready to enter the Promised Land. Moses, in what must have been nearly his last words to the Israelites at the journey's end, reminds them of how their hearts and eyes remain dull to the perception of God in their life as a people and nation.

The passage in Isaiah 29:10 is set against the background of the Israelites, who as a people, honour God with their lips but whose hearts are far from Him.

Sanday and Headlam believe that the form of Paul's citation in Romans 11:8 resembles Deuteronomy 29:4, but that the historical situation and meaning are better represented in Isaiah 29:10.² This seems to be correct.

They also believe that Paul also had in mind Isaiah 6:9,10.³ This may be true for the sense of the passage is very similar to that in Isaiah 29:10. However, since there is no hint of this verse in the citation otherwise, we only mention the fact of a possible allusion.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

Paul here conflates Deuteronomy 29:4 and Isaiah 29:10 into one

1. Meyer, Vol.II, p.208.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.314.

3. Ibid.

statement, quoting freely from the LXX.¹ Of this citation Ellis says that Paul is at variance from the LXX and the MT where they agree.²

The first part of the citation ἔδωκεν καταπόξας comes from Isaiah 29:10. The MT has יָסַךְ - to pour, here, he poured, with God as the subject. This is rendered in the LXX with κεπό-τικεν - give to drink, this is not a translation so much as it is an interpretation.³ It is rendered by Paul in our text by another change ἔδωκεν , he gave. Thus he does not agree with either the LXX or the MT. For the subject of יָסַךְ the MT has יהוה , the LXX has Κύριος which is the usual translation of יהוה but Paul uses ὁ Θεός , again not agreeing with the LXX or the MT. There are still other changes by Paul: αὐτοῖς for ὑμῶς, πνεῦμα for πνεύματι . The first is necessitated because of the difference in Paul's relationship to the ones addressed in the OT text. The second change is a grammatical necessity because of the use of a different verb.

The last part of the citation is taken from Deuteronomy 29:3. Here Paul deviates quite a bit from the LXX. However, there is little, if any, change in the meaning. The LXX is stated negatively -οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῖν ...ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὤτα ἀκοῦειν, whereas Paul makes a positive statement ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὤτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦειν . It may be argued that the statement of Paul is a stronger, more emphatic way of putting it than is the LXX,⁴ for τοῦ with the infinitive often

1. Because this citation is a combination of the two OT Scriptures Origen and some of the Early Fathers did not regard it as a quotation. cf. Samuel Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p.408.

2. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, pp.150-151.

3. Toy, p.156.

4. Barrett, p.210.

expresses purpose. Here Paul seems to indicate a sovereign act of God. This would be in harmony with Paul's emphasis upon the sovereignty of God over man in Romans nine. There is one other minor change. Paul changes ταύτης to read ὅλης which is perhaps an unconscious change to suit his own times.

Swete says of Romans 11:8 that it is a good example of conflation.¹

It seems to me that Paul here quotes freely from memory. As he thinks about the relationship of the Jews to Christ in his day, these two passages of Scripture come to mind and he promptly combines them into one statement with some changes from both the LXX and the MT.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Midrash

There are two references to Isaiah 29:10 in the Midrash Rabbah and one reference to Deuteronomy 29:4.² However, in all three cases the literal meaning of the text is wholly disregarded and the text is made to praise God's love for Israel.

b. Qumran Literature

De Waard says that Isaiah 29:10 and 1QISa^a are identical and that 1QISa^b has a lacuna at this point.³ Actually in 1QISa^a the only difference is a change from עליכם of the MT to עליכמה of 1QISa^a. This is a minor difference here, although in some instances such a change could mean a major difference.⁴

1. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament, p.401.

2. H. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, p.452. Numbers 582. Deuteronomy, p.144.

3. De Waard, p.6.

4. See later discussion on Isaiah 40:13 used in Romans 11:34,35.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Deuteronomy 29:4 presents Moses' appraisal of the spiritual condition of Israel after he had been their leader for forty years. He says that God has not given them a perceptive heart. They are dull of spiritual sight and hearing. Isaiah 29:10 is Isaiah's appraisal of the Israel of his day to whom he had been sent as a prophet and among whom he lived his whole life. God, he says, has given them the spirit of stupefaction because of their incessant sin. In both cases metaphors are used to indicate their lack of moral and spiritual perception. These verses form, at two different eras in the history of Israel, a graphic picture of the spiritual and moral insensibility visited upon Israel "by God as a punishment for their faithlessness."¹ The words of these two citations "are in part descriptive of what had occurred in the times of the prophets, and in part prophetic of what should hereafter occur."²

Paul, though he quotes freely, quotes according to the sense of these passages.³ Lindars wrongly applies this verse to the total hardening of Israel. He says "the Jews are rejected totally, so that the remnant is the Gentiles."⁴ Paul does not say that the Jews are totally rejected for he says plainly in verse seven that "the elect obtained it, but the rest were hardened." For Paul, the fact of the Jews' blindness and the manner of their spiritual insensibility was in accord with the declaration of the prophets.⁵ He does not quote literally nor with any concern for the contexts or historical

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.314.

2. Hodge, p.358.

3. Barnes, p.60. Stuart, p.370. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.114.

4. Lindars, p.241.

5. Barnes, p.60.

connections involved. These citations "are adduced to support and confirm the proposition of verse seven that 'the rest were hardened'."¹ Turner has an interesting and very insightful observation to make here.² He sees in Romans 11:5,8 a connection with Mark's view about the Messianic "secret" (Mark 4:11-12; 8:27-30). Paul saw the secret as due to God's deliberate act, though this was not so much by parabolic method, as in the case of Mark, as by a process of making dull the spiritual faculties of the Jews.

1. Murray, Vol.II, p.73. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.114.
 2. Turner, p.49.

ROMANS 11:9-10THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 11:9-10

Δαυὶδ λέγει,

γεννηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα καὶ εἰς θήραν καὶ εἰς
σκάνδαλον καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς, σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς σύγκαμψον.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 69:22-23 (23-24)

יהי שלחנם לפניהם לפח ולשלומים למורקש: תשכנה
עיניהם מראות ומתניהם תמיד המעד:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 69:22-23 (68:23-24)

γεννηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα, καὶ εἰς
ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον· σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ
μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς σύγκαμψον.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 35:8

תבואהו שואה לא ידע ורשתו אשר שמן תלכדו בשואה
פל בה

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 35:8 (34:8)

ἐλθέτω αὐτοῖς παγὶς ἣν οὐ γινώσκουσιν, καὶ ἡ θήρα ἣν ἔκρυψ-
αν συλλαβέτω αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἐν τῇ παγίδι πεσοῦνται ἐν αὐτῇ.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This is the only place in the NT where this exact IF, *καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει* is used.¹

Paul here regards David as the mouthpiece or spokesman for God and therefore he is to be heard with the utmost reverence and attention.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

There are no variants listed in the latest edition of Nestle, however, there is a variant spelling of *Δαυιδ*.² Von Soden lists recension H (which contains most of the "best" and oldest texts such as *ℵ*, B, A, C etc.) as having the spelling of *Δαυελδ*.³ A problem naturally arises in the spelling of David. The writers of the uncial MSS transliterated the Hebrew *דָּוִד* in the Greek as *Δαυ(ε)ιδ* (often abbreviated) and the writers of the minuscules transliterated it as *Δαβιδ*.⁴ This has nothing to do with the citation itself.

Codex Claromontanus has *καὶ εἰς θῆραν* repeated twice which is a very evident scribal mistake.⁵

This is unimportant to the consideration of the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no variant readings in the MT. However, Kittel cites in his apparatus that the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion,

1. Please see remark above concerning the IF of Romans 4:7-8, p.77.

2. Nestle and Aland, 25th Edition, 1963.

3. Von Soden. Vol.II.

4. Moulton and Howard, A Grammar of the New Testament Greek, p.110.

5. C. Tischendorf, Codex Claromontanus, Epistles of Paul.

and Jerome translates the Hebrew as **וְלִשְׁלֹמִים** in Psalm 69:22, and the Syriac Polyglot version, edited by Brian Walton, translates the Hebrew as **וְלִשְׁלֹמִים**. This is a difference between the singular and plural of the noun. He suggests further that the LXX is probably correct in reading **וְלִשְׁלֹמִים**. On Psalm 35:8 Kittel suggests that **וְלִשְׁלֹמִים** be read in the third person plural; and that **בְּשֹׁחַח** probably be read with the Syriac Polyglot Version (edited by Brian Walton) **בְּשֹׁחַח**.¹

b. The Septuagint Text

Psalm 68:23-24 **ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν** and **εἰς παγίδα** are transposed by the Old Latin Codex g. **θήραν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς** is added after **ἀνταπόδοσιν** by Codex 55 in an evident attempt by the scribe to make it read in conformity to Romans 11:9.² Origen follows the LXXB, Aquila makes a change, reading **ἀνταποδόσεις εἰς σκῶλον** for **ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον**. Symmachus reads **γένοιτο** for **γενηθήτω**; **ἐμπροσθεν** for **ἐνώπιον**; and **εἰς τιμωρίαν, ὥστε συλληφθῆναι** for **εἰς ἀνταπόδοσιν, καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον**. Theodotion only changes **ἀνταπόδοσις** to read **ἀνταποδόσεις**.³

This citation also incorporates into it both the thought and some of the words of Psalm 35:8 therefore we need to consider it briefly.

The LXX rendering of **ἀνταπόδοσιν** is an interpretation of, but not a translation of **וְלִשְׁלֹמִים**.⁴ Olshausen feels that the translators of the LXX read **וְלִשְׁלֹמִים**, those at rest, secure, as **וְלִשְׁלֹמִים** thus, requital, which is derived from the verb

1. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

2. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10. Psalmi cum Odis.

3. Fields, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

4. Liddon, p.202.

עלם to complete, so in the Piel, to recompense.¹ In the MT וְלִשְׁלוֹמִים means, unconcerned, those who feel secure without adequate reason, careless, whereas ἀνταπόδομα means, requital, a recompense. ἀνταπόδομα is not found in classical Greek, but often in the LXX, in the Apocrypha and in the New Testament.²

The Hebrew הַמַּעַר is the Hiphil imperative and means, make them to shake, the LXX translates it as σόγχαμψον which means, to bend together, which is not too accurate a translation.³

ἐλθέτω is read ἐλθάτω by Codices A, 55, and 1219.⁴ However, in the later Greek versions Aquila has ἐν συντριμμῷ πεσέ-ται ἐν αὐτῷ for ἐν παγίδῃ πεσοῦνται ἐν αὐτῇ of Origen and the LXX.⁵

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

That Psalm 69 is Messianic is seen by its citation in the Gospels, where it is applied to Jesus (Matt. 27:34,48, etc., John 2:17; 19:29,30). The Psalm is a cry to God, out of great affliction and part of the Psalm is given over to invocation of punishment upon the psalmist's enemies. The Psalm has no reference to any deliverer other than יהוה, but by typical interpretation the writer was identified with the Messiah.⁶

Psalm 35 is also ascribed to David according to the title. Verse eight of the citation comes in the context where the psalmist cries out to God for help. He pleads for protection from his enemies and heaps imprecation upon them. Thus the context is much

1. Olshausen, p.361.

2. Meyer, Vol.II, p.211.

3. Liddon, p.202.

4. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10, Psalmi Cum Odis.

5. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

6. Toy, p.157.

like that of Psalm 69, except that it is not applied to the Messiah in the NT as is Psalm 69. In each case the psalmist is surrounded by enemies and in despair cries out an imprecation upon his enemies. Paul takes these two verses from these psalms and indicates that they are fulfilled in the rejection of the Messiah, Jesus, by the Jews.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

The citation is largely from Ps. 69:22-23 with ἡ ὀψα, taken from Ps. 35:8, where it is used as a parallel to παύεις,¹ inserted. Both Psalms contain largely the same thought which is represented by Paul here without any reference to the historical setting of the OT texts.²

The citation is a free conflation of the two Psalm texts and represents a deviation from the LXX.³ Olshausen says Paul makes the citation freely from memory.⁴ Ellis is of the opinion that Paul's citation here is at variance with the LXX and the MT where they vary from each other.⁵

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. The Midrash

There are two references to Psalm 69:22-23 in Midrash Rabbah.⁶ In Esther and Leviticus the psalmist is made to refer to the enemies of the Israelites i.e. Haman, Esau, Balak, etc.

b. Qumran Literature

There is reference made in the Hodayot (1QH, IV, 2) to Psalm

1. Godet, Vol. II, p. 234.

2. Leenhardt, p. 279.

3. Meyer, Vol. II, p. 209.

4. Olshausen, p. 361.

5. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 150.

6. Friedman, Midrash Rabbah, Esther, p. 84; Leviticus, p. 394.

69:22 according to Gaster.¹ Hymn IV is rather long. It tells of those who oppose God's word, knowledge and way. It ends with:

"But thou, O God, wilt give them their answer judging them in thy power for all their idolatrous acts and their manifold transgressions to the end that they should be caught in their own designs."

It would seem that, if this is a reference to Psalm 69:22, it is a very vague allusion. The last two lines can possibly be construed to have something of the meaning of Paul's citation.

Gaster also feels that the Hodayot II:29 has reference to Psalm 35:8². Here there is undeniable allusion made to the Psalm. The most pertinent lines read:

"their own foot was caught in the net
they spread for me in the traps
they had hidden for my soul
themselves they fall."

Though the latter reference in the Hodayot is closer to the idea of the citation, yet it is sufficiently far removed to be only a kindred thought rather than an elaboration of the text in the two Psalms.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The citations are taken from two psalms which are ascribed to David. In each case the citation is set as an imprecation upon the psalmist's enemies.³ Who the enemies are is not stated, but they are among his own people, the Israelites. The psalmist is asking God to frustrate his enemies and bring their scheming to fruition upon their own heads. These citations are imprecatory

1. Gaster, pp.146-147.

2. Ibid. p.138.

3. Jowett, p.319.

prayers for the confusion, frustration and destruction of the psalmist's enemies.¹ Sanday and Headlam understand these verses as "declaring the Divine wrath against those who have made themselves enemies of the Divine will."² This may be true but it is an interpretation of the text with the context in mind and not what is stated in so many words by the text or context. It is thus, in a sense, more eisegesis than exegesis. However, in view of verse nine and twenty-one "There is nothing in the Psalm (69) which forbids its being considered as a prophetic lamentation of the Messiah over his afflictions, and a denunciation of God's judgments upon his enemies."³ This is especially true when one considers that in the Hebrew of this psalm, the future is used rather than the imperative; though it is used for an imperative and is correctly rendered as such by the LXX and by Paul. But to say this was the intent, or was in the mind of the psalmist seems more than the textual evidence will bear.

Paul quotes this passage not in its original sense of malediction against the enemies of the psalmist, but as proof of the obduracy of the Jews⁴ and their rejection.⁵ In doing so, it seems to me that Haldane is right in believing that Paul regarded the words of this citation as prophetic. "Whatever application the words might have to David and David's times, their import as a proper prediction is clear and they are so appropriated by the apostle."⁶ One of the reasons he gives is that the citation of Psalm 69: follows immediately the prophetic description of Israel's treatment

1. Livermore, p.179.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.315.

3. Hodge, p.358.

4. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.117.

5. Jowett, p.319.

6. Haldane, p.541. See also Barnes, p.234.

of the Messiah (verse 21). Barnes' conclusion is appropriate. He says:

"From the use which the apostle makes of this passage in the Psalms, it is clear that he regarded it rather as a prophetic denunciation for their sins - a prediction of what would be - than as a prayer."¹

Paul quotes this citation in evidence of God's rejection of Israel² and according to its meaning or general sense³ without any regard for the context or historical connection, taking the citation as prophetic and applicable to the situation he found himself in. "The application of these Old Testament passages to the unbelief of Jewry in Paul's day has relevance surpassing anything that could have been true in Israel's earlier history."⁴ Though the Psalmist has his enemies in mind Paul sees in this citation words that are highly pertinent, applicable and illustrative proof of God's rejection of unbelieving Jews. "The interest is fastened on the blindness of the Jews, yet not as something inflicted on them as a punishment for their wickedness, but as the cause of their tragic failure to grasp the salvation that has been offered them."⁵

1. Barnes, p.234.

2. Arnold and Ford, p.253; see also Livermore, p.180.

3. Stuart, p.373.

4. Murray, Vol.II, p.74.

5. Lindars, p.102.

ROMANS 11:26-27THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 11:34-35

καθὼς γέγραπται,

"Ἦξει ἐκ Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος, ἀποστρέψει ὀσβελας ἀπὸ 'Ιακώβ' καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 59:20-21

ובא לציון גואל ילשבי פשע ביעקב נאם יהוה: ואני
זאת בריתי ארתם

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 59:20-21

וייתי לציון פריק ולאתבא מרודיא דבית יעקב
לאורייתא אמר יהוה: ואנא דין קימי עמהון אמר יהוה...

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 59:20-21

καὶ ἔξει ἔνεκεν Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος καὶ ἀποστρέψει ὀσβελας ἀπὸ 'Ιακώβ, καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, εἶπεν Κύριος.

1. Stenning, pp.198-99.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 27:9

רזה כל פרי הסר חטאתו

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 27:9

בכין בדא ישתבקון חובי בית יעקב ודין כל
עובדי אסטיות חובהי

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 27:9

ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 14:7(13:7)

מי יתן מציון ישועת ישראל

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 14:7

τίς δώσει ἐκ Σιών τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέψαι
Κύριον τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

1. Stenning pp.84-85.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Paul introduces this citation with his favourite IF.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Nestle lists only a change in the sequence of the words by Codices 231 and p46.¹ Von Soden indicates that Codex 114 of his H group of MSS_A adds δ before 'Ισραήλ and Codex 7 of his Ia₁ group⁽¹⁸⁷⁴⁾ reads 'Ισραηλίτης instead of 'Ισραήλ, while Codex 170 of his Ia₃ group⁽¹³¹¹⁾ adds τε after ῥυόμενος. ἀποστρέψει is read ἀποστρέψαι by Codices 1028f by his Ia₁ group⁽⁵¹²⁾⁽⁴¹⁰⁾. ἀσεβείας is read ἀσεβεῖς by Codex 7 of the Ia₁ group⁽¹⁸⁷⁴⁾, Codex 8 260 of the Ib₂ group⁽⁴⁴⁰⁾ and Codex 116 of the Ic₁ group⁽²¹³⁸⁾. ἀπό is read ἐξ by Codex 200 of Ia₁ group⁽³⁸⁾ and Codex 64_c of Ia₃ group⁽¹⁸⁴⁵⁾. τὰς before ἁμαρτίας is omitted by Codex 116 of the Ic₁ group of MSS_A.^{(2138)₂} However, the major texts are in agreement here with only the later texts showing only minor variants, so the evidence lies overwhelmingly in support of Nestle's text. It is worthy of note that von Soden incorporates none of the variants listed in his Apparatus into the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

Kittel indicates for Isaiah 59:20-21 that perhaps the LXX read מציִרן for לציִרן on the basis of the Roman quotation. He also believes that ילשבי פשע ביעקב should be read with the LXX and Romans as וישיב פשע מיעקב and in verse twenty-one אתם should be read אותם .³

1. Nestle and Aland.

2. Von Soden, Vol.II.

3. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

b. Septuagint Text

The initial *καί* is omitted By Codices A*, 90, 130, and 311. *ἐνεκεν* is read *ἐκ* by Codices 22^C, 93, 564*, 407, 534, Coptic Boharic, Epiphanius, Hilary and Jerome. *ὁ* before *ῥυόμενος* is omitted by S* (X*). *ῥυόμενος* is read *ῥυόμενος* by Codices 109, 736, 564*, and 233. *ἀσεβείας* is read *ἀσεβεῖς* by Codex 86*, it is read after *ἀπό* by Codex 147 and it is transposed with *Ἰακώβ* by Codices 109 and 736. *Ἰακώβ* is read *Ἰσραήλ* by Codex 544. *εἶπεν Κύριος* is added after *Ἰακώβ* by Codex V, Lucian, Eusebius and Theodoret in agreement with the Targum. The initial *καί* in verse 21 is read *ὅτι* by Codex 22^C and omitted by Codex 93. *παρ'* is read *παρά* by Codex 147.¹

Isaiah 27:9 has no variants in the part used by Paul in his citation according to Kittel.² In Rahlfs' edition of the LXX *θῶσιν* is omitted, and *θῶ* is used instead by Codex A. There are no variants in the part of the verse cited by Paul.³

For Isaiah 59:20-21 Field cites Aquila as reading *καὶ ἐλεύσεται τῇ Σιών ἀγγιστεῶν* instead of *καὶ ἥξει ἐνεκεν Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος*. Symmachus and Theodotion read *ἀγγιστεύς* for *ῥυόμενος*. Origen agrees with LXXB, but Aquila has *καὶ τοῖς ἀποστρέψασιν ἀθεοῖαν ἐν Ἰακώβ* for *καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ*. For the same expression Symmachus is in agreement with Aquila except that he substitutes *ἀσεβείαν* for the *ἀθεοῖαν* of Aquila and the *ἀσεβείας* of Codex B.⁴

It is interesting to note that for Isaiah 27:9 Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion read *πᾶς ὁ καρπός, τοῦ περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν*

1. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14. Isaias.

2. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

3. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14. Isaias.

4. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

ἁμαρτίαν αὐτοῦ for ὅταν ἀφέλῃται αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν .¹

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

Both passages in Isaiah are set in a context which speaks of Israel's sin. The verses quoted give promise of future redemption. These verses were applied by contemporary Judaism to the restoration of Israel by the Messiah.²

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

There is a play on prepositions here that is of interest.

ἐκ Σιῶν in Paul's citation is a translation or interpretation of

יְרוּשָׁלַם ; it means, out of, or, from Zion, whereas the MT has, to Zion, and the LXX has ἕνεκεν Σιῶν , on account of, or, for the sake of Zion, but there are several late minuscules which read ἐκ Σιῶν , these may have been corrected to read with Romans 11:26. Liddon thinks this is perhaps an intentional change from the MT and the LXX text of Isaiah 59:20-21, or perhaps suggested to Paul by Psalm 14:7 where the LXX has ἐκ Σιῶν .³ Godet feels that perhaps in some of the MSS of the LXX used by Paul the ἕνεκεν had been contracted so as to be easily confounded with ἐκ .⁴ This seems possible though perhaps unlikely here. Toy agrees with Godet that the change in prepositions may have come about from the use of some Greek MS, though not from contraction of ἕνεκεν to ἐκ but with the variant reading of ἐκ , or through inadvertence.⁵

Meyer thinks the changed prepositions resulted from a faulty memory because of the study of other passages.⁶ Most commentators quoted

1. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

2. Parry, p.149.

3. Liddon, p.218.

4. Godet, p.257.

5. Toy, p.159.

6. Meyer, Vol.II, p.236.

above would agree that though the prepositions are different in each of the three texts, from whatever cause, the resulting difference in meaning and significance is not great. Most would agree that here is another example of Paul's being so intent on providing Scriptural warranty for his argument that he quotes from memory, almost wholly from the LXX, and conflates two passages without too much concern for the historical setting of the passages cited.¹ Ellis has an interesting view of this passage. He says:

"The MT reads 'to those who turn from transgression in Jacob' Romans, with the LXX, has 'and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob'. The LXX itself is here an interpretative rendering of the Hebrew, an interpretation which accords with the argument in Romans. Possibly Paul merely follows the text which lay before him, but more likely he retains the LXX reading because it gives the sense which he himself finds in the passage. In the same verse Paul departs from the LXX in the phrase ἐκ Σιών, evidently with a hermeneutical purpose in view."²

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

De Waard believes that it is likely that ἐκ Σιών goes back to a Hebrew text of אֶל צִיּוֹן as is found in IQISa^a. He says:

".... one may perhaps ask whether ἐκ Σιών can be traced to a Hebrew origin. The reading of the MT צִיּוֹן is of no interest. ל is used here either directly or in the sense of "in Bezug auf". This reading is supported by the Targum. The reading מִצִּיּוֹן for Romans 11:26 as Kittel suggests, has not yet been confirmed by any Hebrew text tradition.

1. Olshausen, p.377.

2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.140.

"But the variant reading of lQISa^a: אל צירן is noteworthy here. In connection with the "confusions graphiques" as a result of which אל often occurs for על, the metaphorical sense of "à cause de" can be defended. In any case it is clear that the LXX reading ἐνεκεν goes back to the Hebrew text, which read אל instead of ל. The reading ἐκ Σιών in Romans 11:26 could be based on the same reading, if we take ἐκ as a causative, like ὑπὸ and ἀπὸ, in the sense of "because of". The probability of this hypothesis increases when we pay attention to the non-local character of Sion in this text, and to the insufficient evidence of a 'hermeneutical purpose.'¹

While we need not follow De Waard's hypothesis through as far as he does, it is significant that lQISa^a has this variant reading which would give indication that the LXX is based on another Hebrew text containing אל צירן. It is interesting to note how the lQISa^a text varies from the MT. It reads אל after רבא .

נראם is written בייעקב ; נאם is written בייעקב ; זאת is written זראת ; and ארתם is written אתם , otherwise there is no difference between the two texts.²

Isaiah 59:20 is quoted by lQH 14,24; 6,6. In these instances the lQH text is identical to the MT. In the case of lQH 2, 8-9, the variant text of lQH throws no light upon either the NT text or the LXX. So De Waard, but I have not been able to confirm it.³

Gaster believes that in the Hymn of the Initiants there is a reference to Isaiah 59:20. It reads in part:

"And when His salvation comes join
the chorus of Praise I will help
no evil on any but pursue all men
with good."⁴

1. De Waard, pp.12-13.

2. Burrows, Millar, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Plate XLIX.

3. De Waard, p.63.

4. Gaster, pp.125, 322.

The last two lines may have some allusion to Isaiah 59:20 but it seems rather vague and one needs to use too much imagination for this to have any value for our text.

b. Midrash

There are two references to Psalm 14:7 in Midrash Rabbah.¹

However, the reference is not explained or applied in any systematic way. It is generally referred to Israel. Rabbi Levi is quoted as having said:

"all the boons, blessings and consolations that the Holy One, blessed be He, will in the future bestow upon Israel, will come only from Zion. Salvation will come from Zion: as it says" then Psalm 14:7 is quoted.

Here, as is the case with most of the references in Midrash Rabbah to Scripture, the interpretation and application certainly are wanting in many ways.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Both Isaiah passages are prophetic and eschatological. Isaiah is concerned with the sins of Israel and looks forward to that day when Israel's sins will be purged and the "Redeemer will come to Zion." The sin is both individual and national and so the redemption is individual and national as well. The redemption is the saving of all Israel² from despotic oppression and their return to God's favour.³ It is doubtful if Isaiah had more in mind than this. Life after death was a hazy and most vague concept. Most OT soteriology gathered around temporal redemption from oppression from whatever source, either domestic or foreign. The salvation seems to be

1. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Leviticus, p.306; Lamentations, p.170.

2. Godet, p.412.

3. Schaff, Vol.III, p.121.

limited to Israel. Israel occupies the centre of the stage. The Gentiles gather round and fear the Lord because of what they see God do for Israel. They are the spectators of Israel's redemption more than participators in a world redemption. Their blessing is that of the friend of the bridegroom rejoicing with the bridegroom, a blessing by association rather than standing under the direct blessing of God. Psalm 147 is a fervent desire or prayer phrased in eschatological terms.

Paul introduces this citation to confirm his contention that "all Israel shall be saved."¹ Lindars says "Paul expresses the missionary hope in apocalyptic form with the aid of Isaiah 59:20f, conflated with Isaiah 27:9."² That is, Paul makes the prediction and then cites these words to show that it is in line with OT thought. In citing these words he does so according to the general meaning of the text,³ though without citing literally.⁴ As usual Paul disregards both the context and the historical connection of the passages cited. In this combined quotation it seems probable that Paul "does not intend to refer exclusively to any one prediction, but to give the general sense of many specific declarations of the ancient prophets."⁵ It seems evident that Paul by contrasting the Gentiles with Israel, is speaking in these verses "not of a spiritual but of a literal Israel."⁶ It is also clear that Paul considered that the prophecies of the OT and especially those which he cites, "included much more than the conversion of the comparatively

1. Ibid. cf. also Munck, Christ and Israel, pp.136-7.

2. Lindars, p.245.

3. Stuart, p.381.

4. Barnes, p.245.

5. Hodge, p.374; cf. also Murray, Vol.II, p.99.

6. Jowett, p.323.

few Jews who believed in Christ at the advent."¹ There is no question that Paul regards these OT passages as predicting the restoration of Israel.² In verse fifteen he speaks of them being cast away and received again, and this can only mean nationally for he has already spoken of a remnant being saved in the Messianic Age (verse five). Then in verse twenty-five he indicates that the restoration of Israel nationally will not take place "until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in." Thus it seems Hodge is right in saying that Paul desired to establish that:

"The covenant of God with his ancient people secured, after their apostacy and consequent banishment in Babylon, and their dispersion over the earth, and their rejection of Christ, the ultimate purging of their sin, and their restoration, as a nation, to the Messiah's Kingdom."³

Paul was probably strongly influenced by Jewish thought for the Rabbis connected Isaiah 59:19 with the Messiah. A general restoration of Israel was part of the Jewish expectation. There was to be a kingdom in Palestine, and in order that all Israel might share in this, there was to be a general resurrection. Jewish thought even included the Gentiles in the final blessing.⁴ Therefore it seems that Paul gave these verses a literal interpretation perhaps to a certain extent along the lines of Jewish thought. Paul's situation is different - God in His mercy has turned to the Gentiles through the missionary preaching of the Gospel to them. When all the Gentiles are brought in, only then will all Israel be saved. This is different from the Jewish thought that Gentiles

1. Hodge, p.374.

2. Murray, Vol. II, p.99.

3. Hodge, p.375.

4. Sanday and Headlam, pp.336-337.

would be included in the final blessing - in Paul rather it is the coming in of the Gentiles that is the necessary precondition of the salvation of Israel. Reflecting on the fact that God has turned to the Gentiles since the Jews have rejected Christ, Paul nevertheless finds in his OT text assurance that after all Israel too will be saved. The nation of Israel will be restored by the Messiah whom they are now rejecting, and in the interim God is engaged in blessing the Gentiles and the remnant of true Israel. In Isaiah though spiritual salvation cannot be altogether excluded, the thought is temporal salvation by a Messianic Redeemer. Paul seems to have the temporal as well as the spiritual salvation of literal Israel in mind, but the Redeemer is Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah.

ROMANS 11:34-35

THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 11:34-35

(γάρ)

Τίς γάρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;
ἢ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ;

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 40:13

מי תכן את רוח יהוה ואיש עצתו יודיענו:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 40:13

מן תקין ית רוח קודשא בפרם כל נביא הלא יהוה
יצדיקיא עבדי מימריה פתגמי רעותיה הודענון:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 40:13

τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο, ὃς
συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν;

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR JOB 41:3

מי הקדימני ראשם

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR JOB 41:3

ἢ τίς ἀντιστήσεται μοι καὶ ὑπομενεῖ;

NEW TESTAMENT PARALLELS

I CORINTHIANS 2:16

τίς γάρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν;

1. Stenning, p.133.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

It is not so easy here as in Romans 10:13 to see γάρ as an IF. The last quotation is several verses back in verses 26-27. Then too, verse thirty-three begins a new paragraph with a new thought altogether. It is a note of awe or praise that is forced upon the mind of Paul by the subject he has been discussing. γάρ is used causally to show the proof of verse thirty-three. Paul seems to say, "This is a tremendous thing that God is doing, I'm not just dreaming or getting emotional because there is Scriptural proof, for it is written ..." γέγραπται can easily be understood with γάρ with no harm to the sense whatever, and there seems little doubt that it was in the mind of Paul.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Nestle lists no variants for Romans 11:34-35.¹ Codex 1026* of von Soden's Ia₁ group of MSS_Λ reads θεοῦ for κυρίου for the text in verse thirty-four. In verse thirty-five Codex 1066 of the same group⁽¹⁹¹²⁾ adds οὐκ before καί.² These variants are inconsequential because all the "better" texts support the text as Nestle has it in his 25th edition.

There is some variation in the punctuation of verse thirty-four.³ Most put question marks after κυρίου and after ἐγένετο while others put a comma after κυρίου and a question mark after ἐγένετο.⁴

1. Nestle and Aland.

2. Von Soden. Vol.II.

3. See Textus Receptus, Bover, 4th Edition, 1959, A.V., R.V., ASV, NEB, UBS, The Greek New Testament, Westcott and Hort and others.

4. UBS, The Greek New Testament - RSV, Heilige Schrift, Luther, Second, Le Nouveau Testament (1962).

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text, Isaiah 40:13

Kittel suggests for Isaiah 40:13 that it reads with the LXX

וְיִמְיָא .¹ We might note that Origen reads with the LXXB

τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου but that Aquila reads (τίς) ἔσταθμήσατο πνεῦ-
μα κυρίου for the following phrase. Origen also reads with
the LXXB but Theodotion reads καὶ ἀνὴρ βουλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγνώρισεν
αὐτόν for ἡ τίς σύμβουλος..κ.τ.λ. .²

b. Septuagint Text Isaiah 40:13

καὶ is read ἡ by Codices 26, V, 51^C, 87, 91, 309, 490
and others, Coptic Boharic, Syriac Palestinian, Clement of Alexand-
ria, Jerome along with Romans 11:34. αὐτοῦ is read after
σύμβουλος by Clement of Alexandria; it is omitted by Codex 96.
ὅς is read ὧ by Codex 564. συμβιβάσει is read for
συμβιβᾷ by Codices κ^{ca} (S^{ca}), A, 106, 88 and many others, Jus-
tin, Theodoret and Cyril. αὐτόν is read αὐτῷ by Codices 109,
147, 564 and others.³

c. Massoretic Text Job 41:3

For Job 41:3 Kittel feels that מִי הִקְדָּמִי should read
מִי הָרָא קִדְמוֹ and that אֶשְׁרָא should read with the LXX
אֶשְׁרָא .⁴

d. Septuagint Text Job 41:31

Rahlfs indicates that the Codices A and V add ἔστιν ὅς
after τίς ; that the ἔστιν in verse three has been omitted due

1. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

2. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.II.

3. Ziegler, Septuaginta, vol.14, Isaias.

4. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

to haplography in confusion with the ἑστὶν of verse two in Codex V; the εἰ before πῶς is not in the original LXXB text; and Codices A and V have ἡ οὐχὶ here.¹

There is insufficient evidence to support these variants against the better texts, though they do throw light on the textual situation and must be taken into consideration in any serious study of the text of the OT.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

1. Isaiah 40:13

This text is set in a section of Isaiah that extols the greatness of God. Verse fourteen continues the same line of questioning calculated to turn Israel's mind upon the greatness of God. A little further along in the chapter, Isaiah scathingly ridicules idolatry and sets forth God's greatness in stark contrast.

2. Job 41:3

Here the context is the dialogue between God and Job. Beginning in Chapter thirty-eight God asks Job question after question designed to lead Job to see the puniness of man and the majesty, power and infinite wisdom of God. So actually the context of both Job 41:3 and Isaiah 40:13 are much the same and afford Paul a source for his citation setting forth God's greatness, this time in accord with the OT context.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

1. Isaiah 40:13

Paul follows the LXX here quite closely.² Paul inserts γὰρ

1. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.II.

2. Shedd, p.354. See also Liddon, p.224; Sanday and Headlam, p.340.

after $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and changes the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ of the LXX to η and puts $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ before $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in agreement with LXXA and Q where the LXXB has it after $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Thus it is nearly a literal use of the LXX by Paul. The Hebrew יָכַן means, to make even, to level, to weigh, hence, to prove, examine, to measure, as in Isaiah 40:12 where it says God "measured the heaven."¹ The LXX $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega$ is the intended equivalent. $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega$ is a more comprehensive word but it translates the Hebrew idea of our text very well. $\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ ($\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is comparatively rare in the LXX) is meant as the equivalent of the Hebrew נָתַן although $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is perhaps more commonly the translation for נָתַן . Possibly $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ represents a Hebrew word not in the MT but it is more likely a loose translation.² Paul shortens the LXX by leaving out $\delta\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\mu\beta\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ and in I Cor. 2:16 he changes the citation a bit more. The I Cor. 2:16 text is found in Codices A and \aleph of the LXX, although it is doubtful if it is a genuine variant or a conformity to the NT.³

2. Job 41:3

Here Paul follows, with a change in person, the MT. Liddon says of the LXX of this text that it appears to represent some lost Hebrew text. He also notes that the words of the citation occur in Codices A and \aleph at Isaiah 40:14. Ewald thought it may have existed in Paul's copy of the LXX, but Liddon thought that it probably was an interpolation in the LXX text from our passage in Romans 11:34-35.⁴ Olshausen says that the words are altogether wanting in the MT and were, without doubt written into the margin of Isaiah 40:13 and so found their way into the text.⁵

1. Gesenius.

2. Toy, p.160.

3. Ibid.

4. Liddon, p.225.

5. Olshausen, p.383.

There is a great deal of difference between the MT and the LXX in Job 41:3, too great to be accounted for by a difference in the vowel pointing of the Hebrew text. The LXX is either an interpolation, paraphrase, or from a different text.¹ Sanday and Headlam call attention to the fact that the only time Paul departs widely from the LXX and remains close to the MT is when he quotes from Job.²

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

The MT disagrees with lQISa^a here but completely secondary variations are concerned in both Isaiah scrolls.³ The only difference in lQISa^a is יִרְדֵּינָה is written יִרְדֵּינָה.⁴ It would seem, then, that both Isaiah scrolls found at Qumran substantiate the MT.

Brownlee points out the similarity of the Qumran texts with the MT, but suggests that the last verb of the verse in the MT be changed to agree with lQISa^a with the feminine suffix "it". He believes that it would go better with the meaning of verse twelve. By doing this, the sense of verse thirteen is reversed and the result is a greater consistency with verse twelve. He points out also that the meaning of verse thirteen, as it now reads, is repeated in verse fourteen, so there would be no loss of meaning, but actually a gain in the richness of thought would be achieved. He suggests too, that תִּכַּן would then be taken in its more literal sense of, measure, rule off, etc. He would then read verse thirteen

1. Munck, Christ and Israel, p.142. Toy, p.161. See also Liddon, p.225 and others.

2. Sanday and Headlam, p.340.

3. De Waard, p.6.

4. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, plate XXXIII.

as follows "Who has fathomed the Lord's mind as to be able to reveal it?"¹

Braun indicates that Grossouw sees the same spiritual understanding in Qumran as here in Paul. He says: "Auch hier findet Grossouw die gleiche geistliche Auffassung wie in IQS 11,21f. und IQH 10,3-10: der aus Lehm gebildete Mensch verstumme vor Gottes Transzendenz. In der Tat behaupten beide Textgruppen, dass der Mensch in seiner Niedrigkeit Gott nicht erkennen könne. Aber nur Paulus, nicht Qumran hebt zitierend hervor, dass der Mensch Gott nicht etwas geben könne, was Gott ihm dann zurückgeben müsse."²

b. Midrash

Isaiah 40:13 is mentioned in a number of places in Midrash Rabbah.³ In every case something is said about God measuring everything except the Torah and Israel. This would show something of the Hebrew understanding of תכנן.

c. New Testament Parallels

Paul cites Isaiah 40:13 also in I Corinthians 2:16 and places it in a completely different context. The context in Romans is that of a doxology to the greatness of God, and this conforms to the context of Isaiah 40:13. He also alters I Corinthians 2:16 so that it differs from the citation in Romans. ἡ τίς is changed to the masculine relative ὅς and the noun σύμβουλος is changed into the verb συμβιβάζει. The thought here is that the indwelling Spirit gives discernment since the Christian has the mind of Christ. The spiritual life of the Christian cannot be discerned by the unregenerate since no man, apart from spiritual regeneration, can know

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1. Brownlee, The Meaning of the Qumran, Scrolls for the Bible, pp.220-221.
 2. Braun, p.183.
 3. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, p.71; Exodus, pp.275,302; Numbers, vol.I, p.54; vol.II, p.844; Deuteronomy, p.121, etc.

spiritual things, otherwise man may be found to know the mind of the Lord. In this context Isaiah 40:13 is quoted to show the absurdity of man knowing the mind of God and spiritual things.

The parallel then, is only a matter of semantics for the citation is used in an entirely different way and for an entirely different purpose than the Romans citation.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The OT passages set forth God's greatness, God is pictured as being utterly transcendent, "everything under the whole heaven" is His. "All nations are before Him as nothing". God is Creator, infinitely greater in wisdom and power than anything in creation. In Job the greatness of God is brought in to silence Job's charge of unjust treatment at the hands of God. In Isaiah the greatness of God is set forth in relation to the goodness of God toward Israel. The verse itself "is designed to express the infinite wisdom and knowledge of God, by affirming that no being could teach him, or counsel him."¹

Paul's object in citing these two passages is two-fold, first to express awe at the unfolding of God's marvellous plan of salvation and second "to challenge the wisdom of created things, for the call is made on them to show ... wherein any of them has contributed anything to enlighten or to guide the divine counsels."² By the first question Paul denies to man the power of understanding and judging God; by the second he denies the power of man to cooperate with God; by the third question Paul denies to man any possibility of obligating God in any way whatever.³ These three rhe-

1. Barnes, p.251.
2. Stuart, p.385.
3. Godet, p.418.

torical questions, meant to inspire awe at God's great wisdom, all implying strong negative answers, have their positive counter-parts in the self-sufficiency, sovereignty, and independence of God.¹

Paul, contrary to the commonly held belief of the Jews, shows that no one is in a position to plead his own merits or advance any claim upon God.² This is but an added and final emphasis by Paul, before he turns to the practical side of the gospel, to emphasize the gospel is all of grace. The plan of salvation for both the Jew and the Gentile is all of grace. There is nothing in it of merit or recompense whatever. It is all freely bestowed "out of the ocean depths of riches in God Himself."³ Thus Paul though still emphasizing the greatness of God, gives it a different application from the original writers. Whereas the original writers tie the concept of God's greatness up with creation, Paul in no way connects these passages with Creation. Whereas in Job God's greatness is shown to silence Job's charge of undeserved suffering, Paul uses it to show that no one has any claim upon God whatever. Whereas Isaiah uses the passage in connection with God's goodness to Israel, Paul uses it to show the utter sovereignty of God in dealing with man. He does not refer to the context, historical connection, nor does he connect the greatness of God with nature, but while still maintaining the greatness of God, he applies it to God's dealing with all men.

1. Murray, Vol.II, p.107.

2. Barnes, p.252.

3. Schaff, Vol.III, p.122.

ROMANS 12:19THE TEXT FOR ROMANS 12:19

γέγραπται γάρ,

ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει Κύριος.

THE MASSORETIC TEXT FOR DEUTERONOMY 32:35

לִי נָקָם וְשָׁלוֹם

THE TARGUM¹ FOR DEUTERONOMY 32:35

קְדָמִי פִּרְעָנוּתָא וְאַנָּא אִישְׁלִים

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR DEUTERONOMY 32:35

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLELSHEBREWS 10:30

ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.

1. Berliner, p.236.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

This variation from Paul's favourite IF occurs here for the first time in Romans but occurs several times elsewhere in his writings.¹ He adds λέγει κύριος at the end of the citation only here.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Marcion omits γέγραπται γάρ and he with the Old Latin g, Armenian, and Syriac Harclean versions add καὶ before ἐγώ.

ἀνταποδώσω is read ἀνταπόδω by Codices 1028f in von Soden's Ia₁ group of MSS.² There are also a few MSS with orthographic variants in ἐδίκησις (σεις) and ἀνταποδώσω (δω) which are undoubtedly itacisms.³ These variants are supported by insufficient evidence to be seriously considered as corrections that should be read in a corrected text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

The Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX read ליום instead of לי. לי, as is evident from Onkelos, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint, is an abbreviation of ליום, for the day. Accordingly the passage is to be rendered:

"Is not this laid up in store with me,
Sealed up in my treasuries?
For the day of vengeance and recompense,
For the time when their foot shall slip."

It will thus be seen that ליום, for the day, and לעת, for the time, obtain their natural parallelism and that the third

1. cf. 14:11; I Corinthians 1:19, 3:19,20; Galatians 3:10, 4:27.

2. Von Soden, Vol.II, p.684.

3. Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.433.

line corresponds to the first, and the fourth to the second line in accordance with one of the Laws of Hebrew parallelism.¹ וְלֵךְ
probably should be read וְלֵךְ.²

b. Septuagint Text

There are no variants for the citations in the LXX.³

4. CONTEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Like the reference in Romans 10:19 this citation occurs in the Song of Moses. Moses berates the Israelites for their idolatry and declares that God will take vengeance upon them "for the Lord shall judge His people" (Deuteronomy 32:36). Thus our citation is set in the context of predicted idolatry and perverseness which brings judgment and recompense upon Israel because of her covenant relation to the One, True God.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

It is interesting to note here that this citation of Paul is identical with Hebrews 10:30 and is very close to Targum Onkelos.⁴ Paul omits ἐν ἡμέρᾳ of the LXX and since there is nothing to correspond to it in the Hebrew, Paul is closer here to the Hebrew than is the LXX. Toy suggests, perhaps with some reason, that the LXX read לִירוֹם וְקָם,⁵ though Kittel's suggestion of לִירוֹם וְקָם אֱלֹהִים seems preferable.⁶ Davidson says, a little too harshly, of this idea: "this is a mere conjecture, for it has neither foundation nor necessity."⁷ Paul adds ἐμοί (Hebrew לִי), which is not

1. C.D. Ginsburg, Introduction to the Massoretics - Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible, KTAV Publishing House, New York, 1966, pp. 168-9.

2. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

3. Brooke and McLean, Vol. I, Part III, Numbers and Deuteronomy, p.665.

4. Sanday and Headlam, p.365. Liddon, p.234.

5. See above.

6. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

7. Quoted by Turpie in The Old Testament in the New, p.156.

needed in the LXX's ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως . This use of ἐμοί without ἐν ἡμέρᾳ necessitated the change of case from ἐκδικήσεως to ἐκδίκησις . Paul adds λέγει κύριος immediately after ἀνταποδώσω in Romans. Codex A, the Koine MSS and the Syriac Harclean version read λέγει Κύριος after ἀνταποδώσω as well. However, the weight of evidence is against its inclusion. The citation follows the Hebrew in the first half and the LXX in the second. Since this citation differs slightly from the Hebrew and even more from the LXX but agrees exactly with Hebrews 10:30, and, even more significantly, agrees very closely with the Targum of Onkelos, it would seem more likely that the saying, "had become proverbial as a 'formula of warning' and as such was used by Paul, the author of Hebrews, and the paraphrase of Onkelos,¹ than that "some current translation, probably the synagogal Aramaic version" had been used.²

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

Other than a few references to the "vengeance of God"³ in these documents there is no reference to Deuteronomy 32:35 which is clear enough to help us see how this verse was understood and interpreted by the Qumran Covenanters.

In 1QS 10:17-21 there is a section which may have been influenced by Deuteronomy 32:35. It indicates that "with God is the judgment of all living and He repays man for his actions."⁴ This thought is very similar to the thought expressed in Deuteronomy 32:35

1. Boise, p.112; Liddon, p.244.

2. Toy, p.162.

3. Yigael Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, Oxford University Press, 1962, pp.260-61. cf. Leane, p.121.

4. Helmer Ringgren, The Faith of Qumran, translated by E.T. Sander, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1963, p.138.

however, it is not a citation, but no doubt is an allusion. The idea expressed in LQS 10:17-21 that God repays man according to his deeds is quite Jewish and the special formulation of Romans 12:19 is much closer to the Rabbinic phrases of "giving way" (Raum geben) than to the general way of expression^{in/}LQS 10:18.¹

b. Midrash

There is one reference in Midrash Rabbah where Deuteronomy 32:35 is referred to the punishment which God will mete out to the enemies of Israel after they cease from doing any good works they may be doing.²

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Paul's citation occurs in the Song of Moses in the midst of a section which deals with the rebellion of Israel and God's consequent judgment. He declares that vengeance belongs to God. He will wreak recompense upon Israel for all their apostasy and iniquity by bringing calamity upon them. Moses declares that God will bring temporal calamity upon Israel as punishment for their apostasy and waywardness. Moses does not say that vengeance belongs only to God, but the thought is more the certainty of God's vengeance upon sinful Israel.

There are at least three interpretations of this verse. The best seems to me to regard "wrath" as the wrath of God. According to Paul's usage the word "wrath" is generally applied to God. This meaning of the word is the only one consistent with the meaning of the phrase or with the context.³ Paul says in effect, "Dearly be-

1. Braun, p.185.

2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Esther, p.24.

3. Hodge, p.401; see also Arnold & Ford, p.271, and others.

loved, do not take revenge yourselves, leave that matter to God. It is His prerogative to punish, and He surely will." The citation is quoted "to show the propriety of the command to leave vengeance to God, and not attempt to take it into our own hands."¹ "Its design is to assure us that those who deserve to be punished shall be; and that, therefore, the business of revenge may be safely left in the hands of God."² For Moses this verse was written with Israel in mind. Paul applies it to the Church, the true Israel. In Deuteronomy it is a general statement to the effect that God will take vengeance on evil-doers in Israel. In Romans it is quoted to support a command to Christians not to take personal vengeance upon those who have wronged them. The Christian has committed his life to God and therefore must look to God to recompense wrongs against him as a part of that committal. Therefore, Paul, as nearly always in Romans, does not quote with reference to context or historical situation, but makes a general statement in reference to God, a general command for Christians.

1. Hodge, p.401.

2. Barnes, p.275.

ROMANS 12:20THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 12:20

ἀλλά

ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου, ψάμιζε αὐτόν · ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν·
τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σπρεῦσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PROVERBS 25:21-22

אם רעב שנאך האכילהו לחם ואם צמא השקהו מים:
כי גחלים אתה חתה על ראשו:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PROVERBS 25:21-22

ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου, ψάμιζε αὐτόν, ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν·
τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σπρεῦσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

The strong adversative conjunction ἀλλὰ must refer back to the IF of verse nineteen. It may be paraphrased: For it is written but on the other hand it is also written So the γέγραπται extends to verse twenty as well.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Instead of ἀλλὰ εἰς the Koine text, 33, and the majority of remaining witnesses read εἰς οὖν . p46 seemingly, D*, G, Ψ , and a few other witnesses with the Old Latin omit ἀλλὰ and read only εἰς . However, the reading ἀλλὰ εἰς is supported by the Hesychian texts,² a greater number of other witnesses, and the Vulgate. Thus the MSS evidence is overwhelmingly with the text. εἰς before διψᾷ is read καὶ εἰς by D* and εἰς δὲ by Ψ and a few other MSS. τὴν κεφαλὴν is read τῆς κεφαλῆς by B and Weiss.³ There are a few minor orthographic differences in some of the MSS.⁴

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

חל is deleted by LXX, Syriac version and the Latin Vulgate. חל is deleted by LXX and Syriac version.⁵

b. Septuagint Text

εἰς πεινᾷ is read εἰς οὖν πεινᾷ by Theodoret. ψάμιζε αὐτόν is read τρέφε αὐτόν by Codices K , A, 68, 106, 109, 147, 157, 159, and others, τρέφε αὐτόν ἄρτω by Codex 23. εἰς before διψᾷ is read εἰς δὲ by Codex 159. εἰς.....αὐτόν

1. Turpie, New Testament View of the Old, p.297.

2. Nestle and Aland, the Hesychian text includes the following MSS, p10, p13, p15, p16, p32, K , A, B, C, H, I, M, 0220, 6, 81 and other minuscules, but not all MSS contain Romans.

3. Nestle and Aland.

4. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

5. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

is omitted by Codices 109, 149 and 260. αὐτόν is omitted by Codex 297. καί is inserted before ἐάν διψᾷ by Origen.

Verse 22 ποιῶν is read ποιῆσας by Codex X* alone and ἄνθρακας is read ἄνθρακα by Codex 252. πυρός is omitted by A only. σωρεύσεις is read σωρεύση by Codex 106 and σωρεύσει by Codex 261. ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν is read ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς by Codices X*, 68, 161, 248, 252, and 253.¹

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Since the book of Proverbs contains, almost altogether, a collection of sententious sayings of the wisdom of Israel there is little in the way of context for our citation here. The most that can be said is that it is set in the context of warnings and instructions which begin with Chapter twenty and end with Chapter twenty-nine.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul quotes verbatim from LXX for the fourteenth time in Romans so far.² The LXX is almost literally after the Hebrew.³ Most commentators regard the Hebrew גְּחִלִּים and the LXX ἄνθρακας πυρός as being used metaphorically to express deep and lasting pain.⁴ This is made clear by Psalm 11:6 and II Esdras 16:53. Thus, though the LXX is not quite a literal translation, it does carry quite faithfully, and almost literally, the meaning of the Hebrew.

1. Swete, The Old Testament in Greek, Vol.II, p.469. Holmes and Parsons, Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Vol.III.

2. See Table I, p.402.

3. Shedd, p.373; Toy, p.163.

4. Sanday and Headlam, p.365; Liddon, p.245.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Midrash and Talmud

There is only one reference to Proverbs 25:21-22. In this reference "bread" and "water" are referred to the "Torah" which one is to give to his enemies. Thus it would not refer to any kindness one might do towards others but to the impartation of the Torah.

There are two references to Proverbs 25:21-22 in the Talmud.¹ In Megillah it is cited in connection with Queen Esther inviting the king and Haman to the banquet. In Sukkah it is quoted in the course of an explanation of "the evil inclination". In the first instance only is it used in a way similar to Paul.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The words of the citation occur in the twenty-fifth chapter of Proverbs. This is a collection of sententious sayings, largely unrelated to one another grammatically or contextually. The proverb calls for considerate treatment even of one's enemy if he is in need. This is called for on the basis that such kindness will "heap coals of fire upon his head" which may mean that the enemy may be overcome from the kindness and no longer remain an enemy.² Or it may mean that it heaps up the responsibility of being one's enemy since he remains so in the face of kindness.³ A second reason given for such kindness is the fact that the "Lord shall reward thee."

The words of the citation are used metaphorically both in the OT and by Paul. These verses correspond roughly to the spirit

1. The Babylonian Talmud, Megillah, p.92. Sukkah, pp.247-48.

2. Barrett, p.243.

3. Haldane, p.587.

of the command of Jesus "to love your enemies" and "do good to them that hate you." (Matthew 5:44)¹ Paul's idea here is that by kindness one will most readily subdue one's enemy.² Paul cites this passage to convey over into a Christian context ^{of deeds of love} the same teaching as the proverb had in the OT. Of course when he quotes from Proverbs there is no proper context or historical connection for Paul to be concerned with.

"According to Paul the Christian is not non-resistant in the face of evil nor is he stoically passive. He is engaged in a campaign to overcome evil and he retaliates with those weapons which Christ himself used: deeds of love and kindness."³ By omitting the words "and the Lord shall reward thee" from the quotation Paul emphasizes that such action is not based upon an appeal to recompense but is a genuine fruit of the Gospel.⁴

1. Barnes, p.275.

2. Schaif, Vol.III, p.129; Arnold and Ford, p.271; Hodge, p.402, and others.

3. W. Klassen, Coals of Fire: Sign of Repentance or Revenge, New Testament Studies, 9, (1962-3) p348.

4. Ibid. p. 350. Cf. also K. Stenahl, Hate Non-Retaliation and Love, Harvard Theological Review, 55, 1962, pp. 343ff.

ROMANS 13:9THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 13:9

τὸ γάρ

οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις...
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR DEUTERONOMY 5:17-21

לא תרצח: ולא תנאף: ולא תגנב: ולא תענה ברעך עד
שרא: ולא תחמד

THE TARGUM¹ FOR DEUTERONOMY 5:17-21

לא תקטול נפש: ולא תגורף: ולא תיגנב נפשא: ולא
תסהיד בחברך סהדותא דשיקרא: ולא תחמיד

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR DEUTERONOMY 5:17-21

οὐ μοιχεύσεις. οὐ φονεύσεις. οὐ κλέψεις. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις...
οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR EXODUS 20:13-17

לא תרצח: לא תנאף: לא תגנב: לא תענה ברעך עד שקר:
לא תחמד

1. Berliner, p.202.

THE TARGUM¹ FOR EXODUS 20:13-17

לא תיקטול נפש: לא תגופ: לא תיגנרב לא תסהיד
בחברך סהרתא דשיקרא: לא תחמיד

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR EXODUS 20:13-17

οὐ μοιχεύσεις. οὐ κλέψεις. οὐ φονεύσεις. οὐ ψευδομαρτυ-
ρήσεις.....οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR LEVITICUS 19:18

ואהבת לרעך כמוך

THE TARGUM² FOR LEVITICUS 19:18

ותירחמיה לחברך כותך

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR LEVITICUS 19:18

ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν·

THE NEW TESTAMENT PARALLELSMATTHEW 19:18

οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις..

MARK 10:19

μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης.

LUKE 18:20

μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης.

MATTHEW 19:19; MARK 12:31; GALATIANS 5:14

ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

1. Berliner, p.82.
2. Ibid, p.131.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Turpie does not believe that τὸ γάρ forms an IF here.¹ Liddon seems to regard it as an IF but is too brief to be clear.² However, Ellis believes, rightly I think, that it is an IF.³ With this Turner agrees, he says of this expression "As in Classical Greek the neutral article may be prefixed to quoted words" and he gives as examples Matthew 19:18, Mark 9:23, Romans 13:9 and I Corinthians 4:6.⁴ At the end of verse eight, Paul says: δὲ γὰρ ἀγαπᾶν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκεν and then uses τὸ γάρ to introduce proof from Scripture that love is the fulfilling of the Law.⁵ The article is used in Matthew 19:18 to introduce this same citation. It is used in Luke 22:37 to introduce a citation from Isaiah 53:12 and is used in Galatians 5:14 (ἐν τῷ) to introduce Leviticus 19:18. Also see John 9:23 τὸ εἰ δύνῃ - as far as your words, "If ^{you} can", are concerned.⁶ So, I believe that Ellis is justified in considering it an IF.⁷ It is interesting to note that Codex G reads γέγραπται before τὸ γάρ .

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Codices 1028f, of von Soden's Ia₁ group ^{(012) (010)} read γέγραπται before τὸ γάρ . Westcott and Hort put a comma after γάρ and begin οὐ with a capital letter. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις is interpolated into the text after κλέψεις by K , P, Ψ , 048, 1, 69, 88, and the majority of other witnesses, the Vulgate,

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1. Turpie, New Testament View of the Old, p.316.
 2. Liddon, p.252.
 3. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.170. Vol. III,
 4. J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of the New Testament Greek, p.182.
 5. Stuart, p.403.
 6. Arndt and Gingrich, p.554; see also Dana and Mantey, p.141.
 7. See also Stuart, p.403.

Clementine edition, Syriac Harclean edition, and the Coptic Boharic, Armenian and Ethopic versions, and Origen.¹ It is read after ἐπιθυμήσεις by Codex 2495 and the Syriac Palestinian version. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις is read for οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις by Chrysostom. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις and οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις are omitted by 1984, Clement, Origen, and Ad^amantius. Codex P, in what is perhaps an itacism, reads οὐ κλέψης, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσης. The text is supported by p46, A, B, D, E, F, G, 33, 181 and many other minuscules, Lectionaries, Old Latin (five MSS), Vulgate (Wordsworth and White edition), Syriac Palestinian, Coptic Sahidic, and Gothic versions, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril, Theodoret, and John-Damascus.² The great weight of evidence, therefore, is on the side of the text. ἔστιν is read after ἑτέρα by K*, A, 33, and a number of MSS, and some add ἔστιν before ἑτέρα. ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ is read ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ by A, the Koine texts, and a greater number of other witnesses, Marcion and Clement of Alexandria, also it is read in the margin by Westcott and Hort. Westcott and Hort enclose ἐν τῷ before ἀγαπήσεις in brackets and it is read by the Hesychian texts, the Koine texts, and many others with Marcion and Tischendorf, but p46 seemingly, B, F, G, and the majority of witnesses, the complete Old Latin versions, and Weiss omit it from the text. σεαυτὸν is read ἑαυτὸν by F, G, L, P, and many other MSS, Clement, Chrysostom, Cyril, Theophilus.³

In late Greek ἑαυτὸν was used for all persons in the reflexive and this perhaps led to the substitution of it for σεαυτὸν ;⁴ in addition the general nature of the text would tend

1. Nestle and Aland, von Soden; Vol.II, Tischendorf, Vol.II.

2. UBS, The Greek New Testament, Sanday and Headlam, p.373.

3. Nestle and Aland, von Soden, Vol.II, Tischendorf, Vol.II, p.435.

4. Sanday and Headlam, p.373.

toward this substitution.¹ Most of these variants would not change the meaning of the text materially and on the whole the evidence rests with the text.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text.

1. Deuteronomy 5:17-21

In each case where there is a ך prefixed to לא the Vulgate, the second Ginsburg edition, in accordance with Kennicott (18 MSS plus 5 to 10 other MSS), Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, the Syriac and several other MSS as well as Exodus 20:14f read לא without the ך. אַן of verse twenty is read שֶׁן by about seventeen MSS, the Vulgate, second Ginsburg edition as well as Exodus 20:16. אַן of verse twenty-one is read בֵּית by the Samaritan Pentateuch.²

2. Exodus 20:13-17

Other than the inversion of the order of verses and the inversion of בֵּית and אַן in verse seventeen there are no significant textural variants here.³

3. Leviticus 19:18

There are no textual variants in the Hebrew MT for the words of the citation and only minor variants in the rest of the verse.

b. Septuagint Text.

Deuteronomy 5:17-21 - οὐ μοιχεύσεις is inverted with οὐ φονεύσεις in Codices 18, A, F, M, a, c, e, f, h through m, o, q, r, s, v, x, y, z, and b₂, Boharic and Old Latin versions.⁴

1. De Waard, p.35.

2. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

3. Ibid.

4. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part III, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Exodus 20:13-17 - κλέψεις is read after φονεύσεις in Codices A, F, M, a through e, h, k, l, m, p, s, t, v, b₂, Armenian, Boharic, Ethiopic, and Syro-Hexaplar versions, Josephus, Clement of Rome, Chrysostom, Cyril and Hilary. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις is read μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης by Codices M, c, x, 19, and others.¹ Aquila and all others have φονεύσεις before μοιχεύσεις= οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις.²

Leviticus 19:18 - ἀγαπήσεις is read ἀγαπήσης by Codex g*. σεαυτὸν is read ἑαυτὸν by Codices b, e, f, g, i*, j, k, m, n, r, s, w, z, and Cyril.³

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

See above Romans 7:7.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

a. Deuteronomy 5:17-21

Paul abridges these OT passages. He omits verse twenty altogether and the rest of verse twenty-one after the initials ἐπιθυμήσεις. Otherwise the citation is verbatim after the LXX.

b. Exodus 20:13-17

Paul follows the order of Deuteronomy 5:17-19 rather than Exodus 20:13-15. He omits verse sixteen which corresponds to verse twenty in Deuteronomy and omits the rest of the verse after the initial ἐπιθυμήσεις in verse seventeen corresponding exactly with verse twenty-one of Deuteronomy.

c. Leviticus 19:18

Paul omits the first part of the verse and ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος

1. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part II. Exodus and Leviticus.
2. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.I.
3. Brooke and McLean, Vol.I, part II. Exodus and Leviticus.

after σεαυτόν otherwise this, too, is a verbatim citation from the LXX.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Post-Apostolic Fathers

There is a reference in the Didache (2) to the quotations from Exodus 20:13-17 (Deuteronomy 5:17-21) which follows a different order from our text. Its reading οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις.. οὐ κλέψεις...οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις does not agree in order either with the OT texts or with the NT citations. This comes immediately after the statement "This is the second commandment of the teaching", then the paragraph goes on to deal largely with the Ten Commandments and other prohibitions. Thus the usage seems to compare with that of the OT citations in Romans.¹

Leviticus 19:18 is also cited in the Didache (1) The Way of Life is this. First of all, "Thou shalt love the God that made thee: secondly, thy neighbour as thyself."² The usage here is the same as the usage of the other two passages, that is, in conformity

1. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, pp.218, 230.

2. It is interesting to note that Barnabas 19:2 uses the same phrase "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιῆσαντά σε" in a paragraph that begins "this, then, is the way of light" and a little farther down has a quotation from Ex. 20:14 οὐ μοιχεύσεις set among other prohibitions. (Cf. Lightfoot pp.217, 229, 263, 286) The two expressions are very much alike and set in the same context of the "way of life" and of the Decalogue. They were both written not far from the same date the Didache perhaps in Palestine or Syria and The Epistle of Barnabas in Egypt. (Lightfoot pp.216, 240). Which author influenced the other? Or did they use a common source? Perhaps so. If so, was it the OT? The writings of the still unformulated NT? Or was it taken from a book of testimonies? Because the wording of the phrases is the same or nearly so - τὸν Θεόν is dropped out by Barnabas but it is definitely implied by the τὸν ποιῆσαντά - and because neither the OT or NT uses this construction it would seem that this expression was taken from the latter - a book of Testimonies common to both authors.

to the literal and didactic application of the Leviticus passage. The text follows the LXX.

b. Qumran Literature

There do not seem to be any citations of Exodus 20:13-17 or Deuteronomy 5:17-21 in the Qumran Literature. However, there is a reference to Leviticus 19:18 in CD 6:20, 8:5 and 1QS 1:9.

In CD 6:20 the text is very similar to the Hebrew of Leviticus 19:18. It reads **לְאָהֲרַב אִישׁ אֶת אֲחִיהוּ כְּמֹהוּ**. Rabin translates it "To love each man his brother like himself."¹ Gaster translates it "to love each man his neighbour like himself"². In De Waard's discussion of the citation it is not clear whether he wishes to deny NT dependence on CD 6:20 or CD 6:20 upon Leviticus 19:18. If he means the former, which I presume he means, I would agree with him, but not if he means the latter.³ The citation is used in CD 6:20 in much the same way and sense as in Leviticus 19:18. The thought is much the same, indeed, so much so, that in translating it the English version comes out very much the same. It may be pointed out that the substitution of **אֲחִיהוּ** in CD 6:20 for the **רֵעִי** of the MT is not significant because the two terms are confused both in CD⁴ and in the LXX.⁵ The reference to Leviticus 19:18 in CD 8:5 refers to that part of the verse not in the citation of Romans 13:9.

In 1QS 1:9 there is a reference to Leviticus 19:18. The covenanters are called upon "to practice all the precepts of God so that they may love all the sons of light and hate all the sons of darkness" Leaney feels this is a reference to Leviticus

1. Rabin, p.25. See also Dupont-Sommer, p.132.

2. Gaster, p.78.

3. De Waard, pp.35-36.

4. cf. 7:2; 8:6; 9:8; 16:15, etc.

5. Rabin, p.25; De Waard, p.35.

19:18.¹ In 1:4 there is a similar reference "to love all that He (God) has chosen and to hate all He has rejected ..." These references occur in the General Introduction of CD 1:1-15 and form what amounts to a resolution by the Instructor and his men to accept of "all who promise to practice the precepts of God ... so they may love all the sons of light ...", etc. This is not an injunction to "love thy neighbour as thyself" therefore it is not a reference to Leviticus 19:18 but Leviticus 19:18 may have been the basic reference to the concept behind CD 1:9 and 4.

c. Parallel Passages

Matthew 19:18 - follows the LXXB exactly from both Deuteronomy 5:17 through the initial ἐπιθυμῶντες of verse twenty, and Leviticus 19:18. Jesus' usage of these two citations seems to coincide with that of the passages cited, exactly.

Mark 10:19; 12:31 - Mark 10:19 follows the order of Deuteronomy 5:17-20^a but uses the aorist subjunctive with μὴ rather than οὐ with the future indicative as in Matthew, Romans, and the LXX. Mark 12:31 follows the LXXB exactly. In Mark 10:19 Jesus uses the citation from Deuteronomy 5:17-20 in the same way as in the OT context. However, in Mark 12:31 Jesus connects Leviticus 19:18 up with the Shema of Deut. 6:4,5.

Luke 18:20 - Luke uses the subjunctive with μὴ as does Mark (except for Codex D which uses οὐ with the indicative), and follows the order of LXXA rather than that of LXXB for either Deuteronomy 5:17-20 or Exodus 20:13-16^a. As in both Matthew and Mark, so here in Luke, Jesus uses the OT citation in the very literal sense of its historic meaning and situation. Luke does not quote ^{here} from Leviticus 19:18.²

The distinction between the use of οὐ with the indicative and

1. Leaney, p.118.

2. However, as Mark, Luke connects Lev. 19:18 with Deut. 6:4,5 in Luke 10:27.

μή with the aorist subjunctive used in the above passages indicates the attitude of the speaker. The force of οὐ is sometimes very powerful, like the heavy thud of a blow. οὐ with the indicative is more emphatic than μή with the subjunctive. While μή leaves the door open for further discussion or entreaty, οὐ closes the door abruptly.¹ Further μή with the aorist subjunctive means "do not begin doing something", while οὐ with the indicative means "stop doing something already begun."² It is a blunt command to cease and desist, and οὐ with the future indicative is a blunt statement not to begin in the future to do a thing.

Matthew uses οὐ with the future indicative because the rich young man takes the initiative and asks Jesus what commands he had in mind. Jesus could only give a clear statement of what the commandments were. Matthew indicates, by using οὐ with the future indicative, that these were positive prohibitions. But in Mark and Luke the same scene is presented differently by the writers. Here Jesus Himself puts the question to the young man and ends by kindly saying, "you know the commandments" and then repeats them Himself. The writers desire to indicate that Jesus wanted the conversation to go further, therefore they use μή with the aorist subjunctive. By this they also indicate that the young man had not done these things prohibited by the Ten Commandments. Further they indicate that Jesus was making it easy for the conversation to go on. By using μή with the aorist subjunctive Mark and Luke indicate Jesus' love and interest in the young man.³

1. Robertson, Grammar of the Greek New Testament, p.1157.

2. Ibid. pp.851f.

3. Note: If Jesus spoke Aramaic the difference between οὐ and μή cannot rightfully be attributed to Him, but must be attributed to the Gospel writers. If Jesus spoke Greek then the writers have changed His words because they desired to apply the story differently.

Galatians 5:14 - Paul does not cite the Deuteronomy or Exodus passages in Galatians. But he does cite verbatim from the LXX the passage from Leviticus 19:18. He quotes it in connection with the Law, which for Paul meant, not just the Decalogue, but at least the Law of Moses in the traditional sense.¹ Paul's use of Leviticus 19:18 in Galatians 5:14 is the same as in Romans 13:9.

d. Midrash and Talmud

There are numerous references and allusions to the OT texts of Paul's citation in the Midrash. In every case Midrash Rabbah gives a literal and historical interpretation of the giving of the Decalogue to Moses and its acceptance by the people.²

There are a great number of references to the verses referred to by Paul in his citations from the OT in the Talmud. Most are rather vague, to say the least, others give a somewhat literal interpretation with somewhat less forcefulness than Paul.³

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Of the three OT passages cited by Paul here in Romans 13:9 the first (Exodus 20:13-15,17) occurs in the initial giving of the Decalogue through Moses, the second (Deuteronomy 5:17-21) occurs in a subsequent teaching of the Decalogue to the younger generation. The third (Leviticus 19:18) occurs in a chapter wherein the Decalogue is recapitulated along with other commands and prohibitions as Moses teaches the people. In each instance the words are addressed to Israelites who are in a covenant relation to God. There is

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1. Gerhardt Kittel, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, pp.1054, 1069.
 2. Freedman, Midrash Rabbah, Leviticus, pp.307, 349; Numbers, pp. 239, 260, 345, 179, 466, 214, 598; Exodus, pp.86, 88, 568; Song of Solomon, pp.131, 22, 26, etc.
 3. The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth, p.29; Sanhedrin, pp.286, 569, 41, 570; Makkoth, p.91, Pesahim, pp.432, etc.

no metaphorical or symbolical language used. The commands are meant to be kept literally. These prohibitions and the command "to love thy neighbour as thyself" are part of that covenant which binds Israel to God.

Paul cites these passages in much the same way they are used in their OT context. He does not refer to their context or the historical circumstances involved in their writing. However, the meaning is, if you love your neighbour you will treat him in accordance with the Law, you will not offend him in any point mentioned in the Law.¹ That the Law could be summed up in love was not a new thought, but accepted by the Jews and by Jesus (Luke 10:25-28).² Paul, on this occasion argues in remarkable conformity with bet Hillel, that all the commandments in the Torah are comprehended (ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι) in the "word" (λόγος) on love for one's neighbour.³ Here love has reference only to inter-human relations. Paul does not say the Law is love but that love fulfills the Law.⁴ The only difference in Paul's usage of these passages from that of Moses is that whereas Moses addresses these words to Israelites in covenant relationship with God, Paul addresses them to Christians who are in soteriological relationship with Christ. Paul goes a step further in stating that "love thy neighbour as thyself" sums up the whole Law in its inter-human application. Thus he interprets literally but with expansion of application.

1. Barrett, p.251.

2. Best, p.151.

3. Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, Uppsala, G.W.K., Gleerup, Lund, Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1961, p.138.

4. Murray, Vol.II, p.160.

ROMANS 14:11THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 14:11

γέγραπται γάρ,

ὡς ἐγώ, λέγει Κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ πᾶσα
γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 45:23

בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי יֵצֵא מִפִּי צִדְקָה דְּבַר וְלֹא יִשְׁוֶה כִּי לִי
תִכְרַע כָּל בָּרֶךְ תִּשְׁבַּע כָּל לִשׁוֹן:

THE TARGUM¹ OF ISAIAH 45:23

בְּמִימְרֵי קִיּוּמִית נִפְקַן מִן קִדְמִי בְּזִכֹּר פִּתְגָם וְלֹא יִבְטַל
אֲרִי קִדְמִי תִכְרַע כָּל בָּרֶךְ תִּקְיִים כָּל לִישׁוֹן:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 45:23

καὶ ἑμαυτοῦ ὁμνῶ,....ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ
ὁμνῶται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τὸν θεόν.

1. Stenning, pp.156-57.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

(see above Romans 12:19 comments on IF)

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Codices H78 and δ 202 of von Soden's Ia₃ group^(1739, 2127) omit γάρ and H114_A⁽¹⁸⁵²⁾ omits γέγραπται.¹ Instead of ὅτι Codex G alone reads εἰ μή.² ἑξομολογήσεται is read before πᾶν by B, D*, E, F, G, and many minuscules.. The text is supported by κ, A, C, D^b, L, P, and many others.³ The evidence is about evenly divided between these two readings, however, there is little significance in the variant. Codices 208f of von Soden's Ic₁ group of MSS⁽¹⁶¹¹⁾ and the Syriac Harclean version read τῷ κυρίῳ for τῷ θεῷ in the text. The Syriac Peshitta version reads μοι for τῷ θεῷ.⁴ In each of the above cases the variant is either inconsequential and supported by good but insufficient evidence or of some significance but supported by little textual evidence.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

הקדש is perhaps to be read הקדש . The LXX adds τὸν θεόν (τῷ θεῷ).⁵

b. Septuagint Text

ἐμάντοῦ is read ἐμον by Codices 46 and 534. ὁμνύω is read ὁμνύων by Codices S* (κ*) and 544. καὶ before ὁμεῖται is omitted by Codex 106 in agreement with the MT. ὁμεῖται is read ἑξομολογήσεται by Codices A, Q, S^c (κ).

1. Von Soden, Vol.II.
2. Nestle and Aland.
3. Tischendorf, Vol.II.
4. Von Soden, Vol.II.
5. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

and others. $\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ is read $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$ by Codices B, V, 88, Syro-Hexapla, Lucian, Theodoret, Cyril, Eusebius; it is read $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ $\kappa\tilde{\omicron}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ by Codex S*^(K) and $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$ plus $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ by Lucian, Codex 544, Eusebius and Theodoret. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \kappa\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\ \gamma\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ $\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ is read by Codices A, Q, and S^c (κ^c)¹. De Waard adds κ^b without citing authority for it.² $\delta\mu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \kappa\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\ \gamma\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$ is read by B, S* (κ^*); L, C, in agreement with the MT.³ The evidence therefore is on the side of the latter.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Israel is reminded in the forty-fifth Chapter that God alone is God, Sovereign Creator of all things and all men. "It is a Messianic prediction of the final and universal triumph of God."⁴ He declares Himself to be merciful and benevolent and pleads "Look unto me and be ye saved all the ends of the earth." In this context of sovereignty and mercy comes the verse which Paul cites, which indicates that the whole of mankind will at some future date acknowledge its Creator and Lord.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

$\kappa\alpha\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\mu\nu\acute{\omega}$ is altered to read $\chi\tilde{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega},\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\tilde{\omicron}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ by Paul. The meaning remains about the same,⁵ but the expression is altered beyond what one would expect as the result of a faulty memory or a paraphrasing of the text. It may suggest the

1. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.II, p.629.

2. De Waard, p.10.

3. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14. Isaias.

4. Liddon, p.264.

5. Murray, Vol.II, p.185.

use of a different text or a book of "testimonies".¹ Paul may have confused this verse with the beginning of Numbers 14:28,² which is possible though not very probable when we consider that Paul was a well educated Pharisee who obtained his education at the feet of Gamaliel (Acts 22:3), one of the great scholars of Jewish Rabbinism. The following two phrases of the LXX are omitted by Paul. $\delta\mu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ of the LXX is rejected for $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ with the natural result that $\tau\omicron\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$ becomes $\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\tilde{\nu}$ the dative of the indirect object.³ This appears to be a conscious altering and a following of the LXX, for the Hebrew has no equivalent for $\tau\omicron\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$. This is a free hermeneutical rendering which is common both in the various texts of the LXX and in the Targums⁴ as well as in other versions. Toy suggests that $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ may have been taken from "the oral Aramaic."⁵ This may have been the case, though Toy is prone to see the use of the Aramaic almost everywhere there has been an alteration in an OT citation. The $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ of Paul is not as close a rendering of the Hebrew תשבַּע as $\delta\mu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ of the LXX. The Targum of Isaiah renders $\text{נִי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי}$ as $\text{בְּמִימְרֵי קִיּוּמִית}$ and תשבַּע as קִיּוּמִית ⁶, in each case

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1. Turpie says "the apostle merely supplies its place by the frequently occurring formula $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega, \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \text{Κύριος}$ - The Old Testament in the New, p.261. Toy says that it is a common prophetic expression. (Toy, p.164) Stuart says "the apostle has translated ad sensum, not ad verbum". (p.413)
 2. cf. Numbers 14:21; Deuteronomy 32:40, Isaiah 49:18, Ezekiel 33:11.
 3. Unless we understand "allegiance" or some such word as the object of $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. Otherwise it would have to mean "praise to God" $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ with the dative means "to praise" (cf. Matthew 11:25; Luke 10:21; Romans 15:9) or "to promise" as in Luke 22:6. It requires an object in the accusative when it means "to confess" as in James 5:16. (Liddon, p.265; see also Boise, p.119 and Meyer on this verse; Shedd, p.394, Arndt and Gingrich etc.)
 4. Toy, p.164.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Stenning, pp.156-157.

the meaning is, to swear, but it may also mean, to confirm, vouch, declare a thing to be so. Toy may be right in thinking this may be the source of Paul's ἐξομολογήσεται¹ though it is questioned seriously by De Waard.² The rendering of ἐξομολογήσεται by Codices A, Q, and Sc (κ^c) is probably due to the influence of Romans.³ Ellis is wrong when he says of this verse that it varies from the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary,⁴ for $\chi\omega$ ἐγώ, λέγει Κύριος certainly varies from the LXX and the Hebrew, yet the LXX is a very close rendering of the Hebrew. The same is true of ἐξομολογήσεται.⁵ ὁμεῖται is a close rendering of the Hebrew,⁶ whereas Paul's ὁμολογήσεται is a very free rendering. And if the reading of LXXA, Q, S^c(κ^c) be considered, these texts read with Paul except for the order of words.⁷

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

The Isaiah text does not occur in lQISa^b. The text of lQISa^a deviates from the MT in reading the particle η before תשובע. Though the particle η is missing before תשובע in the MT it is added by the LXX ($\kappa\alpha\iota$) and by Paul in Romans 14:11.⁸ It also differs in reading כול for כל which is just another way of writing כל. The same is true for ברך it is written בורך in lQISa^a.

There is a reference to Isaiah 45:23 in lQH 13:18-19 though

1. Toy, p.164.

2. De Waard, p.10.

3. Liddon, p.265; Toy, p.163; Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.144.

4. Ellis, Ibid, p.150.

5. De Waard, p.10.

6. Shedd, p.394.

7. De Waard, p.10.

8. Ibid.

it is a reference to a different part of the verse than is the citation of Paul.¹

c. Talmud

There are two references to Isaiah 45:23 in the Talmud.² The one³ refers to a different part of the verse than Paul's citation. The other⁴ refers to the first part of the citation "That unto me every knee shall bow" to the day of dying because of Psalm 22:30 "all that go down to the dust shall kneel before Him." The last clause "every tongue shall swear" is referred to the day of birth because of Psalm 24:4. This does seem to take the verse in a somewhat literal sense but it appears to be taken in a less serious way than by Paul.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This statement of Isaiah 45:23 occurs in the immediate context of God's plea "Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none else" (45:22) and in the wider context of God's sovereignty in creation. The citation is an asseveration that all mankind will bow in reverence before Him and will confess Him as the one true God.⁵ "This homage supposes and implies the judgment by which they shall all have been brought to His feet."⁶ The words are addressed to Israel but the whole of mankind is in the view of the writer. The salvation "of all the ends of the earth" in Isaiah 45:22 as well as the statement

1. De Waard, p.62; Holm-Nielsen, p.211.

2. The Babylonian Talmud, Nedarim p.14; Niddah, p.212.

3. Ibid. Nedarim p.14.

4. Ibid. Niddah, p.212.

5. Arnold and Ford, p.286.

6. Godet, p.459.

in Romans 14:10 that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God", for which the citation is introduced for confirmation, indicate more than a temporal situation.

Paul quotes this passage as a proof text to prove that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ."¹ He interprets this citation literally according to its meaning in context, yet he mentions nothing of the context or historical setting.²

This, as always, is taken for granted; he assumes that his readers have this background.³ Paul, like Isaiah who addresses the Israelites, addresses this citation to all Christians with the whole of mankind in view.⁴ The "all" cannot be confined to Christians only, no more than the words of Isaiah can be confined to Israel. Paul also takes these words of Yahweh, God, and applies them in much the same way as Isaiah. Therefore Hodge overstates the case in his bold statement that

"The apostle evidently considered the recognition of the authority of Christ as being tantamount to submission to God and he applies without hesitation, the declaration of the Old Testament in relation to the universal dominion of Jehovah, in proof of the Redeemer's sovereignty. In Paul's estimation therefore, Jesus Christ was God."⁵

In Isaiah it is God to whom every knee shall bow, for Paul it is Jesus Christ, as in Philippians 2:10-11, but here, Paul does not mention Jesus Christ. God is the subject throughout the context. In view of the context especially Romans 14:10-12 and 15:27 it is questionable whether Paul is applying the citation to Christ and making the equation, God equals Jesus Christ.

1. Schaff, Vol.III, p.138.

2. H.J. Schoeps, p.39. See also Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.147.

3. Kistemaker, p.58.

4. Murray, Vol.II, p.184.

5. Hodge, p.422.

ROMANS 15:3THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 15:3

καθὼς γέγραπται,

οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσαν ἐπ' ἐμέ.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR PSALM 69:9

וחרפות חורפִיךָ נפלן עלי:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR PSALM 69:9 (68:10)

οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσαν ἐπ' ἐμέ.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

For the thirteenth time Paul uses this, his most often used IF.¹

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

There are no important textual variants for Paul's text that involves the OT citation. There is a difference of person in ἐπέπεσον. Codex L reads -σον and others read -σεν for the final -σεν. ⁵ δ is omitted by D*, F, and G, before Χριστός at the beginning of the verse² but this does not concern this citation.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no variants in the Massoretic Text.

b. Septuagint Text

There are only orthographic variants in the LXX. ἐπέπεσον is read by most texts, though ἐπέπεσον is read by Lucian and Theodotion³ in agreement with the reading of Codex L for Romans.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

This 69th Psalm often quoted in the NT as Messianic⁴ is attributed to David in the superscription. The first part of the psalm speaks of the psalmist's humiliation and rejection. It is in this section where the psalmist dwells upon his rejection that the citation "the reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me" occurs. Verses 22 and 23 have been quoted in Romans 11:9, 10, which see.

1. cf. above, Romans 1:17.

2. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

3. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10, Psalmi cum Odis.

4. Liddon, p.275; Dodd, According to The Scriptures, p.58.

5. -σαν represents first aorist 3rd person plural, -σεν the second aorist 1st singular or 3rd plural, -δεν the 3rd singular.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

For the fifteenth time Paul quotes the LXX verbatim.¹ The LXX is a very close translation of the Hebrew. Dodd feels that there is strong evidence since John 2:17 contains the first part of Psalm 69:9 and altogether five authors quote from this Psalm, that the authors of all these works were aware of the Psalm in its entirety as a source of "testimonia".²

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

Psalm 69:9^a is perhaps alluded to in 1QS 4:4 though, 69:9^b which forms Paul's citation is not referred to nor does it seem to be alluded to.³

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

The psalmist in this psalm poetically sets forth his trials and afflictions. The words of the citation clearly mean that the reproaches men levelled against God fell upon the psalmist himself.⁴ The psalmist was so identified with the cause of righteousness and the will of God that those who were antagonistic toward the righteous will of God were antagonistic toward him. They, it would seem from the words of the psalmist, condemned God and the psalmist in the same breath. Further this verse (Ps.69:9) states that a contributing factor was the zeal of the psalmist toward God. Verses 10-12 indicate that whatever he did in his zeal towards God only gave opportunity to his enemies to reproach him. Probably the

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.395.

2. Dodd, According to The Scriptures, pp.57-59, 96-97, 108. cf. John 15:25; Matthew 27:34; Mark 15:36; John 19:28 and Acts 1:20.

3. Leaney, p.151.

4. Sanday and Headlam, p.395.

psalmist had more in mind than just himself. The psalm may be considered as describing "the suffering at the hands of the ungodly, of the typically righteous man."¹

Paul transfers the words of the citation to Christ who is represented as here addressing them to men in general.² In the psalm the subject is the psalmist; in Romans it is Christ. In the psalm the object of the reproaches is God; in Romans it is man. The psalmist takes the reproaches directed toward God, in Romans Christ takes the reproaches directed toward all men upon Himself. Paul takes the verse literally according to the context of the psalm but applies it differently in regard to those who are the objects of the reproach. The citation is regarded as prophecy concerning the Messiah.³ This citation occurs in an exhortation to patient and thoughtful conduct which should be the character of the believer's life as it was of Christ. Strangely there is no mention of the passion here, though it is quite evidently the supreme example of patience. The basis of the apologetic use of Scripture is the need to prove that all the things that happened to Jesus followed along a predetermined plan. Paul's thought has gone on from this to show the life of the Church also corresponds to scriptural expectations for the life of the Church is, indeed, the life of Christ.⁴

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.395.

2. Ibid.

3. Barrett, p.269; Hodge, p.433. *It seems significant that the first*

4. Lindars, p.102.

part of Ps. 69:9 is applied to Jesus in John 2:17.

ROMANS 15:9-12THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 15:9-12

καθὼς γέγραπται,

Διὰ τοῦτο ἔξομολογήσομαι σοι ἔν ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τῷ ὀνοματί
σου ψαλῶ.

καὶ πάλιν λέγει,

Εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πάλιν,

Αἰνεῖτε, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἐπαινεσάτωσιν αὐτὸν
πάντες οἱ λαοί.

καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει,

Ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν·
ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONSPSALM 18:49 (17:50)

עַל כֵּן אֶדְוֶךְ בַּגּוֹיִם יְהוָה וּלְעַמִּי

DEUTERONOMY 32:43

הַרְגִּינוּ גוֹיִם עַמּוֹ

THE TARGUM¹ FOR DEUTERONOMY 32:43

עַמִּי עַמְמֵי עַמִּיהּ

1. Berliner, p.237

PSALM 117:1

הללו את יהיה כל גוים שבחורו כל האמים:

ISAIAH 11:10

והיה ביום ההוא שרש ישי אשר עמד לנס עמים

אליו גוים

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 11:10

ויהי בעידנא ההוא בר בריה דישי דעתיד דיקום

את לעממא ליה מלכון ישתמען ויהי.....

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONSPSALM 18:49 (17:50)

διὰ τοῦτο ἑξομολογήσομαι σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν, Κύριε, καὶ τῷ
ὀνοματί σου ψαλῶ.

DEUTERONOMY 32:43

εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

PSALM 117:1 (116:1)

Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, αἰνεσάτωσαν αὐτὸν
πάντες οἱ λαοί.

ISAIAH 11:10

καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσοῦ καὶ ὁ
ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν.

1. Stenning, pp.42,43.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

Paul begins this long "charaz" with his favourite indefinite IF, which he uses here for the fourteenth time in Romans. The IFs of verses ten and eleven, though not used heretofore in Romans in this form, are variations of IFs which he has already used. The IF of verse twelve is the same as in 10:16,20 except for the *καὶ πάλιν*.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

Κύριε is interpolated into the text after *ἔθνεσιν* by Codices *κ*³, 33, 1611, the majority of other MSS, and the Clementine version of the Vulgate¹ in accordance with the LXX of Psalm 18:49 (17:50), the Syriac Harclean version and Chrysostom.²

διὰ τοῦτο is read *διὰ τοῦ προφήτου* by *κ* and Origen. *ψαλῶ* is read before *τῷ ὀνοματί σου* by Codices D (Greek), E (Greek), G, g, and Coptic versions.³

λέγει is interpolated into the text after *πάλιν* by Codices B, D, E, F, G, and a few others, the Old Latin and Syriac versions. *ἐπαινεσύντων* is read *ἐπαινέετε* by the Koine texts, G, and the majority of other texts.⁴ The order *τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* is followed by Codices C, F, G, L, f, g, the Syriac Peshitta, Armenian and Ethiopic versions, Origen, Theophilus and others.⁵ *καὶ* before *ἐπαινεσύντων* is omitted by von Soden's Codices δ 48(33), ε 173(623), ε 56(L)⁽²⁰⁰⁴⁾, Syriac Peshitta and Chrysostom. *κ*, the Coptic versions and Origen read *λέγει Ἡουῤα* instead of the reverse order. *κ* reads *ἀνωπαύομενος*

1. Nestle and Aland,

2. Von Soden, Vol.II.

3. Tischendorf, Vol.II, and von Soden, Vol.II.

4. Nestle and Aland.

5. Tischendorf, Vol.II.

for ἀνιστάμενος.

Von Soden's Ia_3 group with 37, (69)

read ἔσθην after ἐπ' αὐτῷ . Von Soden's Ia_3 group and Codex
(24)
δ 507 add δ before Ἡουῖας . δ 48(33), Theodotus and Codex w

add καὶ before ἔσται . Codex 552 of von Soden's Ia_3 group (642)
adds καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ τιμὴ after ἐλπιούσιν .¹

There is lack of sufficient evidence for all of the above variants, with the exception of the addition of λέγει after κἀλιν in verse eleven. Here the best representative MS of the Alexandrian (B), and the Western (D) family of texts, together with E, F, and G, and the Old Latin, form good, though not overwhelming, evidence for its acceptance.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

PSALM 18:49

a. Massoretic Text

II Samuel 22:50 reads אָזַמַר for אֶזְמְרָה. II Samuel
22:50 inverts בְּגִרִּים יְהוָה. וְלִשְׁמַךְ perhaps rightly read
לְשִׁמְךָ .²

b. Septuagint Text

No textual variants noted here by Rahlfs.

DEUTERONOMY 32:43

a. Massoretic Text

גִּרִּים is/ probably read עֲמֹר (את) עֲמֹר in accordance
with Kennicott Codex 146.³

1. Von Soden, Vol.II. The Ia_3 group includes Codices 55, 56, 64, 552, δ 156, δ 507 and many others. p.XVI. Also see Tischendorf, Vol.II.
2. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.
3. Ibid.

b. Septuagint Text

Deuteronomy 32:43 - Aquila reads αἰνοποιήσατε, ἔθνη, λαὸς αὐτοῦ. Theodotion reads ἀγαλλιάσθε, ἔθνη, λαὸς αὐτοῦ.¹

PSALM 117:1 (116:1)

a. Massoretic Text

מְהִלָּה is probably read מְהִלָּל.²

b. Septuagint Text

αἰνεσάτωσαν is read ἐπαινέσονται by Codices K^C, A^T, K, A^a Margin, and it is read ἐπαινεσάτωσαν by Codex A and ἐπαινέσατε by Codex R³. οἱ before λαοί is omitted by Codex 1219.⁴

ISAIAH 11:10

a. Massoretic Text

There are no Hebrew textual variants for this verse.

b. Septuagint Text

ἐν is omitted by Codices 233, 301. From Ἰησοῦ on, the rest of the verse is omitted by Codex 565. ἔθνη is read ἔθνη by Codex A and the Boharic version adds πάντα as well. Aquila reads ὃς ἀνίσταται εἰς σύσσημον λαῶν. Symmachus reads the same except that εἰς is bracketed and λαῶν is changed to read τῶν ἔθνων.⁵

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1. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum, Vol.I.
 2. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.
 3. Swete, The Old Testament in Greek, Vol.II
 4. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Vol.10, Psalmi cum Odis.
 5. Ziegler, Septuaginta, Vol.14, Isaias.

4. CONTEXT OF OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS

Psalm 18:49

Here Paul quotes again from a psalm attributed in the superscription to David. The superscription also indicates that this psalm was composed at the time God delivered David from his enemies and, perhaps especially, Saul. The psalm, therefore, is a psalm of deliverance and praise. David gives all credit to God and extols Him. In the verse of our citation he waxes eloquent and declares that he "will give thanks unto thee, O Lord among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name."

Deuteronomy 32:43

This verse comes in the same context as Deuteronomy 32:35 which is quoted in Romans 12:19, which see.

Psalm 117:1

This psalm is the shortest psalm of the Bible having only two verses. It is a psalm of praise for God's mercy and truth. It follows a psalm of thanksgiving and, in turn, is followed by a psalm of thanksgiving. It is an invitation to the heathen world to come into the kingdom of God.¹

Isaiah 11:10

This verse comes in a section of Isaiah which is prophetic of the Davidic Kingdom which is Messianic and eschatological. When this "rod out of the stem of Jesse" reigns all nature will be changed and "the wolf will dwell with the lamb" etc. The verse of the citation comes in this context and declares that the Gentiles will seek this "root of Jesse". He will be universally accepted and will reign universally.

1. Liddon, p.279.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THESE OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

Psalm 18:49

Paul omits the κύριε after ἔθνεσιν otherwise this citation is taken verbatim from the LXX. In omitting κύριε he departs both from the LXX and the Hebrew.¹ The LXX is a very literal translation of the Hebrew.

Deuteronomy 32:43

The first clause only is cited by Paul and this is taken verbatim from the LXX. Here too the LXX differs from the Hebrew.²

There is no equivalent in the Hebrew for μετά . As is noted above the LXX may have read אַת עֲמֹר and so rendered אַת, μετά. The Hiphil הִרְנִיחַ may mean, to cause to shout for joy, as in Psalm 65:9 and Job 29:13 or it may mean, to shout for joy, followed by לַ as in Psalm 32:11. The literal rendering seems to be "O ye nations, Make His people to rejoice." However, this does not seem to fit the context nor does the translation of the LXX.³ This makes seventeen times Paul has cited the LXX verbatim.

Psalm 117:1

Paul alters the word order of the first clause from αἰνεῖται τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη to αἰνεῖται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν κύριον. Toy feels that the change is due to a "rhetorical variation to gain variety in the two clauses."⁴ But it may have suited Paul's idea here best to place πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in a more emphatic position. Paul also adds the conjunction καὶ after κύριον and prefers ἐκαινεσούτων of the LXXA to the unprefixd αἰνεσούτων of the LXX α . It is interesting to note that אֲמִי occurs only

1. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.150-157.

2. Liddon, p.278.

3. Toy, p.165.

4. Ibid.

here in the OT, the word elsewhere means the Ishmaelites or Midianitish tribes.¹

Isaiah 11:10

Paul omits ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ and drops the initial conjunction καὶ leaving just ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα with the remainder of the citation verbatim after the LXX, but the LXX differs from the Hebrew.² עֵץ עֶמֶד לְנֶם עֵמֶס is paraphrased by the LXX to read ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἀρχεῖν ἐθνῶν.³ Ellis is not wholly correct in saying that Paul is "at variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary."⁴ Paul varies from both where they agree. כִּי יוֹם

הַהוּא is translated correctly by the LXX as ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ yet this is omitted by Paul and where the LXX paraphrases the Hebrew, Paul follows the LXX. Dodd, not unreasonably, sees Isaiah 11:10 along with the whole pericope of Isaiah 11 as part of the Scriptures which were used to make up the "testimonia" of the Early Church.⁵

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

a. Qumran Literature

1QISa^a reads with the MT but 1QISa^b has a lacuna at Isaiah 11:10.⁶

Dupont-Sommer sees a reference or at least an allusion to Isaiah 11:10 in 1QH 2:13-14⁷ though Mansoor does not.⁸

1. Liddon, p.279.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp.279-280; Sanday and Headlam, p.399.

4. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.150-1.

5. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp.83, 107, 138.

6. De Waard, p.6.

7. Dupont-Sommer, p.205.

8. Mansoor, p.107.

b. Midrash

There is no reference in Midrash Rabbah to Psalm 18:49.

There are three references to Deuteronomy 32:43 but not to the part of the verse that forms our citation.¹ There are two references to Psalm 117:1² but it is difficult to say in just what way it is used, so they are of little help in determining the usage of the citation. Isaiah 11:10 is mentioned three times,³ each time the verse is applied Messianically to the "Coming of the Royal Messiah" from the tribe of Judah.

c. Talmud

There are several references to Isaiah 11:10 in the Talmud.⁴ Two give the Isaiah 11:10 passage a definite Messianic and eschatological interpretation.

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THESE OLD TESTAMENT CITATIONS

Though these four passages of Paul's citation come in different places and contexts in the Old Testament yet they have several things in common. First in each case the Gentile is called upon to join Israel in rejoicing. Secondly, Israel calls the Gentile to rejoice with Israel because of Israel's temporal deliverance. Thirdly, each mentions the Gentile in contra-distinction to Israel. Fourthly, there seems to be an underlying thought that Israel's blessing is the Gentile's blessing too. In Psalm 18:49 David is so elated over God's deliverance that he wants to share his joy with the Gentiles. Deuteronomy 32:43 is prophetic and calls upon the Gentiles to rejoice with Israel when Israel after great apostasy

1. Field, Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, p.890, 930; Deuteronomy, p.73.

2. Ibid, Exodus, pp.121, 220.

3. Ibid, Genesis, pp.901, 957, 983.

4. The Babylonian Talmud, Pesachim, pp.608, 611, 324; Shabbath, p.582.

turns to God and is blessed. Psalm 117:1 calls upon the Gentiles to rejoice with Israel because of God's mercy to Israel and in Isaiah 11:10 we have an eschatological passage which looks to the restoration of Israel in which the whole earth is blessed. In all these cases it is God who does the blessing; it is Israel, or a representative member of Israel, that receives temporal blessing, and the Gentiles are called in to rejoice with Israel, much in the NT sense of the friend of the bridegroom rejoicing with the bride. Israel is clearly the head and the Gentiles are the tail. The Gentiles benefit because of God's blessing the Israelites. These Old Testament quotations imply, if they do not explicitly state, that Jews and Gentiles will praise God together.¹

For the most part Paul does not quote literally but according to the sense of the passage. These passages are all adduced by Paul to support the proposition that one of the designs of Christ in becoming a minister of circumcision was the salvation of the Gentiles.² "These citations, taken from the three divisions of the Old Testament (Law, Writings, and Prophets) confirm Paul's view of his own work as well as furnish a motive for unity."³ In Psalm 118:49 David is celebrating victory over his enemies, the surrounding Gentiles. Paul interprets this passage in such a way that Christ is made to praise God together with the Gentiles. In Deuteronomy 32:43 Moses calls upon the Gentiles to rejoice with Israel over her enemies. Paul interprets the citation as though the Gentiles and Israelites will unite in the praise of God.⁴ Psalm 117:1 is a call to the Gentiles to praise the Lord because of mercy extended to Israel. Paul

1. Best, p.163.

2. Stuart, p.421.

3. Murray, Vol.II, p.206.

4. Schaff, p.143.

interprets this verse to mean the Gentiles are called upon to praise God in union with the Israelites.¹ And in Isaiah 11:10 the Messiah in redeeming Israel establishes Himself so that the Gentiles trust Him. Paul understands this passage to mean that the Messiah is to reign over both Israelites and Gentiles through their mutual faith in Him. In the context of the citation the emphasis is not upon the root of Jesse, but upon the Gentiles. It is the last of this catena of Scripture on this subject. The Gentiles will share in joyful praise to God, because they are under the same ruler. This is somewhat a different emphasis than the Hebrew which suggests that it is the root of Jesse around which the Gentiles will gather. Paul makes this point by pressing the implications of the LXX. It is not adduced as a Messianic testimony. It is used only because of its application to the Gentiles.² Paul seeks in these verses to show that one of the reasons why the Messiah came, was to open the door of salvation to the Gentiles. He cites this catena of Scripture to show that there are Gentiles among Israel who are called upon to praise God in the OT. Their inclusion with the people of God, in the OT, is the basis and the motivation for unity and harmony in the Church. Thus Paul again cites the sense but enlarges the application of the OT as he cites it to prove or at least confirm his argument. He is not concerned with context or the historical situation.

1. Sanday and Headlam, pp.398-399.

2. Lindars, p.202.

ROMANS 15:21THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT FOR ROMANS 15:21

καθὼς γέγραπται,

οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν
συνήσουσιν.

THE HEBREW MASSORETIC TEXT FOR ISAIAH 52:15

כי אשר לא ספר להם ראו ואשר לא שמעו התבוננו:

THE TARGUM¹ FOR ISAIAH 52:15^b

ארי דלא אשתעיאו להון חזון ודלא שמעו אסתכלו:

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT B FOR ISAIAH 52:15

ὅτι οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν
συνήσουσιν.

1. Stenning, pp.78-179.

1. INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

For the fifteenth and last time in Romans Paul uses this indefinite IF to introduce the sixteenth reference to the book of Isaiah.

2. NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

ὄψονται is read after αὐτοῦ by p46, the Hesychian texts, the Koine texts, and most others together with Tischendorf and von Soden. The text is supported only by Codex B. Therefore the evidence is overwhelmingly for reading ὄψονται after αὐτοῦ.¹ Codex 208 of von Soden's Ic₁ group⁽¹⁶¹¹⁾ omits ἀλλά before καὶ οὗτος. αὐτοῦ is read αὐτῆς also by δ 206 of his Ib₁ group (242). ἀνγγέλη is read ἀνγγέλοη by his H δ6 (C) and by his H δ3 (Ψ).² There are other orthographic variants of this word.

3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXT ANALYSIS

a. Massoretic Text

There are no textual variants in that part of the verse composing Paul's Citation either in the Hebrew or the LXX.

4. CONTEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

Paul has quoted from Isaiah 52 two times already.⁴ The contexts is much the same for these other citations except that at verse thirteen there begins the prophecy of the exaltation of the Servant of the Lord out of great humiliation.⁵ The citation describes the astonishment of the nations and kings at the humiliation

1. Nestle and Aland.

2. Von Soden, Vol.II.

3. See Tischendorf, Vol.II.

4. See Romans 2:24 and 10:15.

5. Liddon, p.289.

of the Servant of the Lord¹ and his exaltation.

5. PAUL'S RENDERING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Paul omits the first part of the verse together with the causal ὅτι which introduces the portion of the citation in the LXX. It is natural that Paul should drop ὅτι , for it does not fit grammatically into the construction in which Paul cites this Old Testament quotation. Then Paul for the eighteenth and last time in Romans quotes verbatim from the LXX which differs slightly from the Hebrew.² The LXX apparently took the relative pronoun וְהוּא in each clause as masculine and as the subject of the verbs וַיֵּרְא and וַיִּתְחַנֵּן rather than neuter and rendered it with κεῖ αὐτοῦ .³ However, the general sense of the passage was not greatly affected.⁴ The Hebrew lays the stress on the things seen whereas the LXX, and of course Paul, lays the stress on those who see.⁵ The text of the Targum differs quite substantially from the MT, although the meaning remains about the same.⁶ Dodd notes that this is one verse of a cluster of verses from Isaiah 52:13 through 53:12 which were used as an important source of "testimonia"⁷ cited many times in the NT. However, plausible as it may seem, the fact of "testimonia" has yet to be proven conclusively. The matter of testimonia will be taken up more fully in the conclusion of this thesis.

Roberts says of this verse that it stands out as an example of "Jewish reserve in communicating the true or full sense of a

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.408.

2. Shedd, p.417.

3. Liddon, p.287.

4. Toy, p.168; Sanday and Headlam, p.408.

5. Turpie, The Old Testament in the New, p.108.

6. Stenning, pp.178, 179.

7. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp.92-94.

passage to a Gentile reader."¹ Though he does not say so, I am inclined to think that he has reference to that part of Isaiah 52:15 which does not form part of Paul's citation.

6. QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES

The Hebrew text varies from lQISa^a and lQISa^b but the variants are completely secondary.²

There seems to be an allusion to Isaiah 52:15 in lQH 13:11 but the text is corrupt and the reading is uncertain.³

7. PAUL'S HERMENEUTICAL USAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CITATION

It is difficult to know precisely what is meant in Isaiah 52:15. The main idea seems to be that the Gentile nations stand in astonishment at the Servant of the Lord. The passage is eschatological and prophetic of the coming Messiah. It seems apparent that when he arrives on the scene He attracts the attention of the Gentiles, and world leaders will stand in awe at His humiliation and possibly later at His exaltation. His exaltation is perhaps hinted at in "he shall sprinkle many nations." The scene is historical and temporal. The Servant of the Lord appears on earth, in history and in the flesh and causes the nations of the world to marvel. The verse indicates that awe is the reaction of these nations and kings upon hearing or seeing the work of the Messiah "for the first time".⁴

Paul takes the words of this prophecy and applies them, "quite in the spirit of the original, to the extension of the knowledge of

1. B.J. Roberts, p.117.

2. De Waard, p.6.

3. Holm-Nielsen, pp.210,213

4. Godet, p.481. Stuart, p.425.

the true servant of Jehovah to places where his name has not been mentioned."¹ Isaiah has reference to kings and nations seeing and hearing the Servant of the Lord as a personage upon earth, while Paul applies it to the declaration of a Risen Lord, who is not upon earth, but in heaven. It has to do with the mental and spiritual seeing and accepting of Christ as Lord, quite apart from Christ being seen in His person. Thus Paul does quote in the "spirit of the original" but he enlarges the scope of the original idea's application.² Paul apparently believed himself to be acting in accordance with this prediction.³ Thus Paul, not concerned with the conditions under which the original words were written or the context within which they are found, gives a literal interpretation to the prophecy but widens the scope of its application from the nations' personal standing in awe at the Messiah to the proclamation of the Messiah by His messengers.

1. Sanday and Headlam, p.408.

2. Lindars, p.82.

3. Barrett, p.277; Hodge, p.441.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF DOCTRINES BASED ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

We have now considered at some length the data concerning Paul's citation from the OT in the letter to the Romans. But before we turn to draw conclusions it seems appropriate, after dealing with the textual data of Paul's citations and his hermeneutical use of them, that we should consider briefly what doctrines these citations are brought forward to elucidate. In doing this we can hardly analyse thoroughly the development of the theological concepts but must content ourselves with the barest outline.

Of necessity we must systematise Paul's teaching in order to deal with it, but we must also keep in mind the fact "that Paul was not a systematic theologian in our sense of the word."¹ In writing the letter to the Romans, Paul had no idea of writing a theological treatise² or text book. Christianity for Paul was not a system of ideas but of events. He felt himself involved in a great drama in which God and man play their parts and which issues in either salvation or perdition.³ Paul lays no claim to being a theologian. He is proud to call himself a missionary to the Gentiles.⁴ Paul's theology, therefore, is the theology of a missionary, a theology of conversion.

First we will give an outline of the doctrines Paul uses these citations to support, then we will consider very briefly the doctrines themselves. However, it must be kept in mind, that the outline contains only the major doctrines treated by Paul.

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1. T.W. Manson, On Paul and John, Studies in Biblical Theology, No.38, Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1963, p.11.
 2. H.F. Rall, According to Paul, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1950, pp.5-8. See also J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1935, pp.1-30.
 3. Manson, Ibid.
 4. Cf. Romans 11:13; 15:16.

1. Sin.

- a. The Jews' sin gives occasion for the Gentiles to sin. 2:24.
- b. The Universality of Sin. 3:10-18.
- c. Function of the Law is to bring the knowledge of sin. 7:7.

2. The Righteousness of God revealed in:

- a. Judgment.
 - 1. God is righteous in punishing sin. 3:4.
 - 2. The Universality of Judgment. 14:11.
- b. Justifying the Sinner by Faith in Jesus Christ.
 - 1. Faith counted for righteousness. 4:3.
 - 2. Sin forgiven and therefore not counted. 4:7-8.
 - 3. Abraham is the father of those who have faith. 4:17-18.
 - 4. Suffering often the seal of salvation. 8:36.
 - 5. Salvation Universally applicable. 1:17; 9:33b; 10:5-8, 11, 13; 15:9-12.
- c. His ruling in History.
 - 1. God sent Israel messengers. 10:15,16,18,19,21; 11:3.
 - 2. Israel stumbled. 9:33; 10:21; 11:3,8,9,10
 - 3. Israel refused to believe. 10:21; 11:3,8,9,10.
 - 4. A remnant of Israel saved. 9:27-29; 11:4.
 - 5. The Gentiles believed. 9:25-26; 10:20; (15:21).
 - 6. All Israel to be saved. 11:26-27.

3. The Sovereignty of God. (Brought out incidentally in the treatment of the mystery of Israel's unbelief).

- a. Election of Isaac and Jacob. 9:7,12,13.
- b. Reprobation. 9:12,13,17.
- c. General. 9:9,12,15,25,26,33; 11:4,8; 12:19; 14:11.

4. Demands of Christian Living. The Christian is to:

- a. Leave vengeance to God. 12:19.
- b. Be kind to his enemies. 12:20.
- c. Live by the law of love. 13:9.
- d. Seek to please others. 15:3.

5. Paul's Mission is to those who have never heard. 15:21.

In our analysis we will follow the order of the above outline rather than the order of the citations as they appear in Romans.

1. Sin.

The first three chapters of Romans set forth the moral depravity of mankind. In the first chapter he describes man's descent into polytheism and immorality. In chapter two he wants to show the Jews that, "for all their privileges, (they) are in as hopeless a condition as the Gentiles."¹ The Law of Moses, of which the Jews were so proud, had not brought salvation, because it had not been kept. In fact, the citation in 2:24, is brought forward to show that, so far from keeping the Law, the very name of God was blasphemed by the Gentiles because of their stubborn perversity in breaking the Law. Paul takes this citation, which the Jews interpreted as a compliment to themselves,² and uses it to point up the fact that their breaking the Law had been the cause of the Gentiles' blasphemy, the worst of sins to the Jews. In fact, in 7:7, Paul shows that the Law, far from bringing salvation, brought the knowledge of sin.

In 3:10-18 Paul uses these citations all of which, with the possible exception of Psalm 14:1-3, refer only to the wicked in Israel, and uses them as proof texts to prove what he has affirmed in the first two chapters. From man's refusal to align himself with his

1. F.W. Beare, St. Paul and his Letters, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1962, p.100.

2. See above pages 27-28.

Creator comes the development of polytheism and from this the corruption of his morals.¹ Paul has analysed the state of mankind in terms of religion and morals, and his analysis has led to the conclusion that all humanity is guilty and under the dominion of sin.²

2. The Righteousness of God is revealed in the Judgment of sin.

It is difficult to speak decisively in interpreting the paragraph where this citation of Romans 3:4 occurs, but the citation seems to be meant as a strong affirmation of God's righteousness in judging the sin of mankind. Romans 14:11 affirms that everyone shall be judged by God, although Whiteley believes this citation is referred by Paul to believers only.³ Other than the fact of a righteous universal judgment, (of Christians only?), no details as to what the judgment consists of are given or indicated in the citations or by Paul's use of them.⁴

3. The Righteousness of God is revealed in Justifying the Sinner by Faith in Jesus Christ.

Paul cites Genesis 15:6 to show that faith is the instrument by means of which God imputes a righteousness, which is from God and which alone is acceptable to Him, to those who believe. The citations in 4:7-8 are made to show how God deals with sin in the life of the one who has faith in God. It is forgiven, covered, not reckoned. Thus for Paul "the reckoning of faith as righteousness is equivalent not to the counting up of good works, but to the non-reckoning of sin, that is, to forgiveness."⁵ Therefore justification

1. Lucien Cerfaux, The Spiritual Journey of Saint Paul, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1968, p.116.

2. Beare, p.101.

3. Whiteley, p.272.

4. Ibid.

5. C.K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1962, pp.32-33.

by faith is by God's grace alone and cannot result in any man's boasting.¹ Further it is shown that this justification by faith is universally applicable. This is implied in the citation from Hab. 2:4 in 1:17, by Paul's rendering of Isaiah 28:16b in 9:33, and the citations in 10:5-8, 11, 13 and 15:9-12.

4. The Righteousness of God is revealed in His Ruling in History.

Thirty-one citations occur in chapters 9-11 all of which deal in some way with the mystery of Israel's unbelief. Paul cites the OT to show that God has been faithful in sending messengers to Israel. Though he does not say what the message was that the messengers delivered, the implication is that the message was one, which, had they heeded, would have resulted not in their rejection but in their salvation. But Israel stumbled. Their ears were closed to God's messengers and their eyes were closed to their own needs. Therefore, they stumbled and as a consequence they were ultimately rejected by God. But Paul shows by further citations that the cause lay in their heart of unbelief. They refused to believe God's messengers. Therefore the fault lay in them. God had been faithful, yet they had spurned both His message and His messengers. Paul shows that the Jews, by their own Scriptures, were culpable. Because of their unbelief God rejected the nation, yet not entirely - a remnant had been graciously chosen by God for Himself, the rest had been left in unbelief. Because of Israel's stubborn unbelief God had turned to another nation, the Gentiles. This is documented by a number of citations from the OT some of which referred perhaps originally to Israel herself, but Paul refers them to the Gentile Christi-

1. J.L. Stoddard, The Theology of St. Paul, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1957, p.177.

ans. But this is not the end of the play. Paul cites Isaiah 59:20 as a prophecy that Israel will be provoked to jealousy by God's turning to the Gentiles and will turn back to God so that all Israel will in the end be saved. Each step in this unfolding drama of history is documented by ample citations from the OT.

5. The Sovereignty of God.

While it does not seem to be the intention of Paul to teach the sovereignty of God as such, yet this doctrine, in its logical ramifications, comes in inescapably when he discusses the mystery of Israel's unbelief. Paul states that natural posterity is not identical with spiritual posterity, that is, "they are not all Israel, who are of Israel."¹ Then several citations from Genesis, Exodus, and Malachi are given to illustrate his contention. These all speak of the sovereignty of God in the election of one person and the rejection of another -- "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated."² Paul makes no attempt to explain the sovereignty of God as shown in His electing one person and rejecting another. It only comes into the picture incidentally as he wants to illustrate that there is a spiritual Israel as well as a physical Israel. Therefore it seems wise to be cautious about basing any doctrine of reprobation on these verses in chapter nine.

6. Paul's Mission.

Paul cites Isaiah 52:15 to show that his mission, the Apostolate to the Gentiles, is in accord with the OT and therefore in accord with God's will.

1. Romans 9:6.

2. Romans 9:13.

1. SOURCE OF PAUL'S CITATIONS

a. Testimony Book

One of the questions that is often raised in discussing what text Paul used, is "Did Paul use a 'Testimony Book'?" Much has been written on the subject.¹ E. Hatch was perhaps the first one who phrased the question and gave impetus to further research beginning about 1889. Hatch felt that it was only natural that the Gentile-Jewish religious tension would lead the Jews to compose manuals of morals, of devotion, and of controversy which were based upon the OT Scriptures and perhaps consisted of extracts from these Scriptures. The composite quotations in the NT and in some of the Early Fathers were regarded as the basis for the hypothesis for the existence of such a manual.² The recent discovery of 4Q Testimonia³ at Qumran, which consists of a series of OT quotations without intervening comments⁴, seemingly supports Hatch's theory of the formation of manuals based upon OT Scripture. This theory of Hatch gained wide popularity among scholars.⁵ E.G. Selwyn proposed that a "rhythmical hymn" may have been the source of some citations.⁶ In 1916 J.R. Harris published a volume on the subject to which he gave the title Testimonies.⁷ In Harris's work the hypothesis of Hatch reached conclusions which later scholarship regarded as over-

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1. For a rather full discussion of the "Testimony Book" hypothesis see Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.98-107.
 2. E. Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, Oxford, 1889, p. 203.
 3. J.M. Allegro, Journal of Biblical Literature, 75, 1956, p.182f.
 4. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.531.
 5. Ellis says that by 1920 the theory was virtually unanimously accepted. Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.98.
 6. E.G. Selwyn, p.268.
 7. J.R. Harris, Testimonies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Vol. I, 1916; Vol.II, 1920.

reaching the evidence brought forward for its support.¹ Harris's argument for the use of testimonies itself was based upon the characteristics of the quotations in the NT.² First, he noted that recurrent quotations in the NT often agree with one another and with patristic quotations but differ from any known OT text. Secondly, he noted that some of these quotations were compiled of more than one OT passage and so suggested a common source apart from the OT. Thirdly, he drew attention to the fact that the same OT passages tended to be used in supporting a particular argument which quite often used a key-word such as "stone" in Romans 9:33 and in I Peter 2:6-8. Harris was concerned to show the early date of the "Testimony Book" as well as its anti-Judaic character. He saw evidence for its anti-Judaic character in Paul's arguments in Galatians and Romans.³

Harris's theory was accepted by most writers and with slight modifications it was applied to NT research.⁴ But at the same time there was an interest in pre-canonical Christian writings which eventually led some scholars to modify drastically Harris's hypothesis⁵ or to discard it altogether.⁶ Manson felt that a "Testimony Book" would not necessarily have been in written form but may rather have been a collection of memorized proof texts assembled for the aid of preaching and containing the primitive kerygma. Therefore it was only natural that these should fall

1. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.26.

2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.100.

3. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.26.

4. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.101. But see Fitzmyer, p.522 for opposing opinion.

5. Ellis, Ibid.

6. O. Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, Druck- und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann in Gutersloh, 1929, pp.52f, 88f.

into groups in the collection of OT testimonies for the primitive kerygma.¹

Dodd significantly altered Harris's hypothesis. He formerly was in general agreement with Harris,² but later concluded that the theory of a pre-canonical Christian "Testimony Book" outran "the evidence, which is not sufficient to prove so formidable an enterprise at so early a date."³ He objects to Harris's hypothesis, first, because there are very few places in the NT where recurrent citations that read against the LXX occur.⁴ In any case they certainly are "not more numerous than cases where one agrees with the LXX and the other differs or where both differ from the LXX and from one another."⁵ Secondly, there are few identical combinations of OT passages in parallel NT texts and these may either be special or exceptional and are insufficient to support the theory. Thirdly, the recurring "stone" passages are almost unique.⁶ And lastly, he concludes that if there was a work of such importance to NT and patristic writers it is inexplicable that there should be no reference to it and no extant derivative from it until Cyprian in the third century.⁷

After careful study Dodd concludes, 1) That the quotation of OT passages in the NT may not be accounted for by a "primitive anthology of isolated proof texts". The composition of "Testimony Books" was the result of a method of Bible study of early Christian

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1. T.W. Manson, The Argument from Prophecy, Journal of Theological Studies, XLVI, 1945, p.132.
 2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.104, note No.2.
 3. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.26.
 4. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.534.
 5. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.104.
 6. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.534.
 7. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp.26f.

scholars which originated orally and was only later, and that sporadically, reduced to written form. He says:

"I am not thinking of a book at all, but rather of something belonging to the body of instructions imparted, orally in the main, no doubt, to those whose duties in the Church led them to Old Testament research; a sort of guide to the study of the Bible for Christian teachers."¹

- 2) This Bible study method involved the use of large sections of certain OT Scriptures, mainly from Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Psalms, and certain minor prophets. These sections were regarded as representing the whole context. Shorter sentence quotations were introduced to illustrate or explicate the larger reference. But it must be kept in mind that it is the total context, not just the particular verse cited, which forms the basis for the argument utilized by NT writers.
- 3) The OT was understood as setting forth the counsel and plan of God in history which was fulfilled in the facts of the gospel and therefore these relevant OT Scriptures fix the meaning of the gospel facts.
- 4) "The whole body of material -- the passages of the OT Scriptures with their application to the gospel facts is common to all the main portions of the New Testament, and in particular it provided the starting point of the theological constructions of Paul, the author of Hebrews, and the Fourth Evangelist."²

Therefore, with Dodd, research into the "Testimony Book Hypothesis" which Hatch first helped bring to the fore in 1889 has nearly gone full circle. Opinion has moved from "Testimony Books" as a collection of Greek testimonies compiled by Hellenistic Jews (Hatch) to compilations in Hebrew from the OT by the Jews for dogmatic purposes

1. C.H. Dodd, The Old Testament in the New, University of London, The Athlone Press, 1952, p.9.
 2. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp.126-7.

(Vollmer)¹ to compilations made by Christian leaders as a method of Bible study. And as a consequence opinion has regarded these "Testimony Books" first as the source of the OT citations, and finally, in Dodd, as the method of OT Bible study used by Christian leaders which gave rise to "Testimony Books".² It is generally agreed that Dodd is right -- there is insufficient evidence to support the "Testimony Book Hypothesis",³ and there the matter might have rested, had not the tremendously significant scroll discoveries been made at Qumran.⁴ So far, of the scrolls and fragments found there, three are of some significance for the study of the problem of the use of "testimonia" in the NT.⁴ In order to understand better how these discoveries are important for this study we will look briefly into the reason why "testimonia" were postulated especially for the writings of Paul.

Fitzmyer says that "testimonia" were postulated in order

"to explain four problems of OT citations in the New Testament: a) the attribution of citations to wrong OT writers; b) "formula quotation" found in Matthew; c) the divergence of OT citations from the LXX and their closer agreement with the Hebrew; d) the composite quotations."⁵

The first two categories do not apply to Paul. The third category has relatively small application to his epistles. E.F. Kautzsch has shown that of eighty-four citations in Paul seventy either agree or differ only slightly from the LXX. Only ten are in considerable disagreement, and of these ten, only two, Romans 12:19 and I Corinthians 14:21 are quite free, but still recognizable

1. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.521.
2. Dodd, The Old Testament in the New, p.9. See also K. Stendahl, The School of Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament, p.45.
3. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.524. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p.104. Kistemaker, p.92.
4. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.532.
5. Ibid, p.515.

⁶ Especially so for Deut.32, a chapter which was used by Paul and later Christian writers as a quarry for anti-Jewish testimonia, because a large number of fragmentary MSS of this chapter were found at Qumran in Cave 4. R. Harris also suggests the possibility of a pre-Christian testimony book.

as quotations.¹ In two passages Paul quotes from Job altogether from the Hebrew. Therefore only the fourth category has any real importance for Paul. It is just in this fourth category that Fitzmyer shows the relevance of recent discoveries at Qumran for the use of "testimonia" for Romans.

It is in the Pauline letters that the best examples of composite quotations are found. Two are especially notable. Romans 3:10-18 where there is no key-word used but the unifying element is the description of the depravity of man with the enumeration of different parts of the body as a secondary element. In Romans 15:9-12 the key-word that unites the section is the word "heathen".²

Before the discoveries at Qumran two reasons were given for the denial of the use of a "Testimony Book" by NT writers. The first was that the composite quotations could be explained on the basis of Rabbinic influence. Rabbinic tradition gave Paul the model for his composite quotations.³ Also "testimonia" were objected to, especially by Michel, on the basis that there was no pre-Christian Jewish example of any similar usage. He mainly rejects "testimonia" because "es fehlt jede Spur spätjüdischer Florilegien. Das bleibt zu beachten".⁴ And he further adds:

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1. E.F. Kautzsch, De Veteris Testamenti locis a Paulo apostolo allegatis, Lipsiae, 1869, p.5f. See also Joseph Bonsirven, S.J., The Theology of the New Testament, Burns and Oates, London, 1963, p.197.
 2. Further examples in Romans are 9:25-29; 10:15-21; 11:8-10, 26, 34, 35; also II Cor. 6:16-18. Because of intervening comments it is doubtful whether Romans 9:12-13, 33; 10:6-8, 11-13; 12:19-20 are really composite quotations. See Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.520.
 3. See A.F. Puukko, Paulus und das Judentum, Studia Orientalia 2, 1928, p.62. O. Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, pp.12-13, 83.
 4. Michel, Ibid., p.43.

"There are no traces of pre-Christian florilegia, either of the late Hellenistic Jewish type (Hatch), or of the late rabbinical sort (Vollmer). Moreover, the hypothesis of R. Harris, that there were early Christian florilegia, which would have been composed prior to the writings of the NT, cannot be regarded as probable. Collections of that sort occur first in early Christian setting; they can be proved to exist with Melito of Sardis and Cyprian. Probably their origin can be traced to an even earlier time; the Epistle of Barnabas perhaps supposes them. But the impression we get is that the Gentile Christian Church compiled these florilegia for missionary and polemical purposes."¹

Fitzmyer points out that neither Dodd nor Stendahl goes as far as Michel in denying the existence of "testimonia". Both Dodd and Stendahl criticize "the way in which the testimonia are said to have been used or the extent to which they were employed."² Fitzmyer also points out that a number of writers admit that "testimonia" collections must have preceded certain sections of the NT.³ Thus, few scholars have followed the lead of Michel. Most scholars have felt that there is sufficient evidence to dictate caution in denying the use of any "testimonia" whatever, yet they have felt, even more strongly, that there is insufficient evidence to warrant the full acceptance of Harris's hypothesis. And there the matter stood.

But now Fitzmyer, on the basis of discoveries at Qumran, has challenged Michel's statement that there is no example of pre-Christian Jewish usage of "testimonia". He first cites one of the John Rylands papyri first published by C.H. Roberts in 1936.⁴ This

1. Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, p.52.

2. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, pp.524-26.

3. cf. Sanday and Headlam, pp.264,282. J. Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1918, pp.23-25, etc.

4. C.H. Roberts, Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Manchester, 1936, pp.47-62.

is a fragmentary papyrus of the fourth century A.D. This fragment of two columns belongs to two other fragments of an Oslo papyrus first published by G. Rudberg in 1923.¹ The combined fragments contain portions of four books of the OT, namely, Isaiah 42:3-4; 66:18-19 and Isaiah 52:15; 53:1-3, 6-7, 11-12; Genesis 26:13-14; II Chronicles 1:12; Deuteronomy 29:8,11 and an unidentified verse. When the Oslo fragments were published in 1923 they were described as "the property of some poor Christian Community in Egypt." It was further suggested because Genesis was combined with Isaiah "that the book was meant for liturgical use." Roberts in his publication suggests that the fragments are "a part of a Book of Testimonies." Fitzmyer admits that these fragments cannot with certainty be assigned to a list of "testimonia". However, he notes that no reviewer of Roberts's publication has questioned his identification of the text.²

Fitzmyer also cites 4Q Testimonia as possible pre-Christian Jewish "testimonia". 4Q Testimonia, published in 1956 by J.M. Allegro,³ is another fragment which consists of a single page. It has compiled Deuteronomy 5:28-29; 18:18-19; Numbers 24:15-17; Deuteronomy 33:8-11 and a passage of no Messianic import which has been discovered by J. Strugnell among other 4Q fragments and has been given the provisional title of 4Q Psalms of Joshua. The fragments seem to be part of an apocryphal work used by the Qumran sect and hitherto unknown. These fragments in both Roberts's Papyrus and

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1. G. Rudberg, Septuaginta Fragmenta unter den Papyri Osloenses, (Proceedings of the Scientific Society of Kristiania, 1923/2; Kristiania, 1923), later published by S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, Papyri Osloenses 2 (1931) 10f.
 2. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, pp.527-29.
 3. J.M. Allegro, Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature, Journal of Biblical Literature, 75, 1956, pp.182-87, Document IV.

4Q Testimonia are alike in stringing together OT citations without introductory formulas or intervening comments on the text.

Another fragment provisionally entitled 4Q Florilegium was published at the same time by Allegro.¹ This fragment too, "which appears to be an anthology of biblical passages describing the future restoration of the house of David",² seems related to "testimonia". The fragment is introduced by "as it is written" and cites II Samuel 7:11-14 and Amos 9:11 with intervening comment. The text "is mainly concerned with the re-establishment of the House of David in the last days." Fitzmyer does not hold this fragment to be of the same importance as the other two.

The importance of 4Q Testimonia is that it "presents a sequence that can only be described as a collection of "testimonia" used in Qumran theological circles."³ Thus we have in 4Q Testimonia a collection of OT passages strung together in much the same way as composite quotations in the NT. If 4Q Florilegium is related to the "testimonia", we have then in addition a sectarian writing which links together OT passages with connecting comments as Paul does in Romans.⁴ What seems important to note is that these documents were published after the "Testimony Book" discussion had been underway for some time. Michel's main reason for rejecting "testimonia" is now no longer valid. Fitzmyer feels that 4Q Testimonia also forces Dodd and Stendahl to modify their views slightly as well, because 4Q Testimonia shows that the stringing together of OT quotations was a pre-Christian practice, which may well have been imitated in the early stage of the formation of the NT. In fact he believes that

1. Allegro, pp.176-77, Document II.

2. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, p.47.

3. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.533.

4. Cf. Romans 9:12-13,33; 10:6-8,11-13; 12:19-20.

"it resembles so strongly the composite citations of the NT writers that it is difficult not to admit that "testimonia" influenced certain parts of the NT 4Q Testimonia furnishes pre-Christian evidence of a literary process that led to the use of composite quotations in the NT and thus supports the hypothesis of testimonia."¹ The discovery also confirms the opinion of Vollmer that collections of OT passages existed among the Jews in Hebrew before the time of Christ. It does not, however, invalidate the views of Dodd but seems to call for a modification of his views.

Now that we have briefly reviewed recent developments in the use of "testimonia" in the NT we must reach some conclusions as to whether Paul used "testimonia" or not. First it should be noted that no attempt is made to suggest that Paul used "testimonia" except in the case of composite quotations, and of these only the ones without intervening comment. This means that four-fifths of Paul's quotations from the OT are unaffected by the "Testimony Book Hypothesis". Secondly we must also remember that the new discoveries from Qumran do not invalidate one serious objection to the use of "testimonia", namely, that composite quotations may be explained on the basis of Rabbinic influence. Rabbinic influence², it seems to me, may well be the source of 4Q Testimonia and 4Q Florilegium. Thus can we not argue cogently that Rabbinic method is the common source for both the Qumran fragments and the NT composite quotations? It seems to me that the Qumran discoveries do not invalidate the argument for Rabbinic influence in the formation of the NT, at best they only push the argument a step further back. Paul's own testimony

1. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, p.537.

2. See following page.

declares that he was a Pharisee and brought up in Rabbinic tradition at the feet of one of Israel's most famous Rabbis. Bruce Metzger says:

"with regard to Paul himself scholars are coming once again to acknowledge that the Apostle's prevailing set of mind was rabbinically oriented, and that his newly-found Christian faith ran in molds previously formed at the feet of Gamaliel."¹

So it seems impossible to rule out the influence of Rabbinic method in the composite citations of the NT.² But this does not rule out automatically the possibility of "testimonia" being used by NT writers. It only suggests a possible source of any such "testimonia" and the Qumran fragments give example of what it may have been like and make the use of "testimonia" by NT writers only somewhat more probable.

I think it is pertinent here to refer to Davies's contention that "the source of much of Pauline ethical teaching (was) derived from catechetical and code material of Jewish origin."³ Davies points out that though he is

"unable definitely to point to specific Jewish codes used by Paul and the other New Testament writersthere was a tradition well defined and familiar within Judaism of ethical exhortation, which would and probably did supply precedents for early Christian leaders in their work of

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1. Bruce M. Metzger, Considerations of Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity, The Harvard Theological Review, Vol. XLVIII, 1955, p.7. (Revised in New Testament Tools and Studies, Vol.VIII, p.7.) Cf. also Davies, pp.130-141. Kistemaker, p.77. W.C. Van Unnik, Tarsus or Jerusalem, The Epworth Press, London, pp.52-58.
 2. Bonsirven, The Theology of the New Testament, pp.193, 197, 212f. Ernst Lohmeyer, Grundlagen der Paulinischen Theologie, Tübingen, 1929, p.231. J. Jeremias, Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1949, pp.147f. J. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, London, 1946.
 3. Davies, p.136.

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"moral education. Dr. Daube may be right in suggesting that if we combine Aboth, Demai and Derek Eretz Zuta we can get some idea of the kind of code material that lies behind the hortatory sections of Pauline and other New Testament epistles. The variations in various epistles may be due to the fact that Paul, and the others, used different versions of the same code or codes or different translations of them. What is important for our purpose is that Paul again has been proved to have appealed to a didactic tradition within Judaism."¹

Whether or not we want to accept Davies's conclusions we must concede that he has shown the possibility of Paul using Rabbinic ethical materials in his epistles. This is not the same as using "testimonia" but it does point up the fact that Paul was not averse to using materials at hand, though this traditional material "has been baptized by Paul into Christ."²

But Davies continues with material which is more pertinent for our consideration of Paul's use of "testimonia". He cites eight places in Romans,³ nine instances in I Thessalonians, and eight instances in Colossians "where Paul is clearly dependent upon the words of Jesus."⁴ He also cites seven instances in which "there is (in his opinion) evidence that there was a collection of sayings of the Lord to which Paul appealed."⁵ For one of these, I Corinthians 7:25, Davies cites M. Dibelius as follows:-

"When in I Corinthians 7:25, Paul remarks 'concerning virgins I have no directions of the Lord' we may probably deduce that he had received a number of such 'directions from the Lord', and that the two sayings of Jesus which he cites in this letter belong to him. Amongst these di-

1. Davies, pp.135-136.

2. Ibid, p.136.

3. Romans, 12:14,17,21; 13:7,8-10; 14:10,13,14.

4. Davies, pp.138-40.

5. Ibid, p.140 (See note No. 2 on the following page).

"rections he finds no words about virgins, and we may hear a tone almost of regret as he confirms his lack. Hence he voices either sayings which he has in his memoryor else he looks through the leaves of papyrus which he carries. Thus there were not only words of Jesus alongside of other sayings contained in the framework of exhortation but also collections which contained exclusively sayings of Jesus, and which were given the missionaries orally or fixed in writing. Naturally such collections serve the purpose of exhortation but of course the sense of their authority operated in the fact of their composition. It was desired to hand down certain directions not only in the spirit and name of the Lord....but also of His authoritative sayings."¹

Here again the evidence points to the possibility that Paul had² "the words of Jesus to which he turned for guidance, and he makes it clear that when there is an explicit word uttered by Christ on any question, that word is accepted by Paul as authoritative"³

It seems to me that this evidence introduced by Davies, of Paul's use of "catechetical and code material of Jewish origin" in the hortatory sections of his epistles and the "evidence" found in Pauline literature of a collection of the sayings of Jesus, when taken together with 4Q Testimonia and other Qumran "testimonia" evidence, forms a substantial and cumulative weight of evidence for the probability that "testimonia" were used during the NT period and therefore increases the possibility that Paul may have used some yet unidentifiable "testimonia". We have definite Rabbinic

1. M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, p.242, as quoted by W.D. Davies, p.141.
2. I am aware that this is a highly controversial and much debated question. Even so, there is some evidence from Paul's writings which support the possibility that Paul had a collection of the sayings of Jesus. And this evidence, weak and controversial as it is, does give a modicum of support to the contention that Paul used "Testimonia".
3. Davies, p.14.

precedent in stringing together Scriptural passages related in some way. And further the 4Q Testimonia and 4Q Florilegium give pre-Christian examples of how it was done by the non-Rabbinic Qumran community. The NT tells us that the risen Christ Himself...."first directed the minds of His followers to certain parts of the Scriptures¹ as those in which they might find illumination upon the meaning of His mission and destiny"². Since He, according to the Gospels formulated by the early Church, pointed out OT passages that illuminated His mission, and since the words of Jesus as evidenced by Paul's writings, were regarded as authoritative, it is only natural to assume that the Apostles, the most important leaders of the early Church, would make a list of such Scripture and add to it as

1. Modern scholarship finds it difficult to determine whether it was Jesus who provided the creative impetus for the Church to search the Scriptures or whether it arose from the need in the Church to give answer to the questions that would naturally arise in the minds of both the Jews and the Gentiles concerning the passion of Jesus whom the Church so devoutly affirmed to be the Christ, the Savior of mankind, the very Son of God. However, since we have in 4Q Testimonia and 4Q Florilegium pre-Christian non-Rabbinic precedent for such use of Scripture, and since it would be natural for Jesus, even though He regarded His mission as self-authenticating, to want to substantiate and authenticate His mission in the face of determined opposition, it seems probable His defense of Himself and His mission by resorting to OT Scripture, provided the impetus for the early Church to search the Scriptures. (Though we cannot concur with the fictional reconstruction of the mission of Jesus by H.J. Schonfield in The Passover Plot, yet it is interesting to note that he lays great stress on Jesus' use of Scripture to authenticate himself. Hugh J. Schonfield, The Passover Plot, Bantam Books, New York, 1967, pp.36-37,55,56.) This need, felt by Jesus, to substantiate and authenticate His mission, would be felt even more keenly by the infant Church. For the Church no doubt felt that, because it made "messianic" claims for one who had been executed on a cross, it had to justify that death particularly out of the Scripture. The Church also felt itself to be commissioned by Jesus to carry the Gospel to the ends of the earth. The opposition met by the infant Church in carrying out this commission would further require that the Church's search for Scriptural justification be carried even further than it was by Jesus. But in this the Church was but feeling the same need for substantiation as its founder and no doubt it attempted to meet the need in the same way He did. (Cf. also Whiteley, pp.15-16)
2. Dodd, According to the Scriptures. p.110.

they gained experience in responding to the needs and questions as they arose in the Christian community.

Therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that it is possible that Paul used "testimonia" of some kind as a source for his composite quotations,¹ especially for the composition, order and sequence of the Scriptural references. But perhaps the textual variants, as is shown later, can best be explained from the stand point hermeneutics.

b. Aramaic Oral Targum.

Originally the Jews spoke Hebrew but from the time of the Captivity, Aramaic, a kindred Semitic dialect using the same consonants, came into common use. As Aramaic became the language of the people Hebrew remained the language of the scholars. In the synagogue service, since the common people did not easily understand Hebrew, it became necessary to have someone give an Aramaic translation after the Torah had been read in Hebrew. The Torah was always read from a written text and the translation was always given from memory. As the Torah could not be recited from memory but must be read from a manuscript so the Aramaic translation could not be read from a manuscript but must be recited from memory.² The Rabbis opposed the reduction of the oral Torah or the Targums to writing. All, other than the written Torah, had to be transmitted orally.³ To distinguish further between the written Torah and the Aramaic translation the same person could not give both readings in the synagogue service.⁴

Knowing these facts of history Toy⁵, and perhaps a few other

1. Freed, p.128.

2. Gerhardsson, p.68.

3. Ibid, pp.157-60.

4. Ibid, p.68.

writers,¹ believed that Paul, being a Pharisee and thoroughly versed in both the written Torah and the oral Aramaic translation, often cited from the Aramaic oral tradition when he cited quotations from the OT, especially where there are variations from the Hebrew or the LXX.

However, there is no extant Targum of the first century A.D.⁶ The Talmud and Midrash contain writings of the second or third centuries A.D. and may, as some think, reflect with little change the situation of the first century², but it is by no means an established fact.³ Therefore it is not easy to determine with exactness whether Paul used an Aramaic Oral Tradition in some of his citations from the OT⁴. Ellis says, "the theory of an Aramaic Volksbibel finds little if any support in Paul's variants; the Apostle's fluency in both languages would make any accurate labeling in this regard difficult." Although he concedes that "Aramaic texts of some type probably lie behind some citations."⁵ We know that the worship exercises in the synagogue required the services of an Aramaic translator. We know also that this Aramaic translation of the written Torah was given from memory and could not be in written form. We know, further, that Paul was a Pharisee and had a thorough Rabbinic training. It seems entirely probable that such familiarity with the Aramaic translations of the written Torah would influence Paul's citations from the OT. However, there is not sufficient evidence to say that any

1. Liddon, p.155 etc.

2. C.G. Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, Max Goschen, London, 1914, p.87.

3. H. Danby, The Mishnah, Oxford University Press, London, 1933, pp. XII, XIV. See also Davies, p.3.

4. David Daube says "The truth seems to be that the problem does not admit of a uniform solution to be stated in a few words." Concerning the Reconstruction of the 'Aramaic Gospels'. Manchester Univ. Press, Manchester, 1945, p.3.

5. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.15-16.

6. Some hold that ^{the} Palestinian Pentateuch Targum represented in the Vatican MS. Neofiti I is first century (cf M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, p.198). A Targum of Job was found in Cave 11 at Qumran which ^{also} may affect the situation.

citation of Paul in Romans was made from an Aramaic Targum. The idea of Matthew Black, though expressed concerning the Gospels and Acts, seems relevant here. He says:-

"From Greek texts there is not a great deal of evidence of 'translation-variants' which can be explained with any confidence as certainly the result of translation of an Aramaic original."¹

Therefore, we conclude that, though it seems probable that Aramaic oral tradition influenced Paul, there is insufficient evidence to state with assurance that this was the case in any of his citations.²

c. Different Hebrew and Greek Texts.

There are some writers who explain some of the variants found in Paul's citations with the hypothesis of a yet undiscovered text, or texts, either in the Hebrew or Greek.³ Recent developments in textual criticism have given more credence to this hypothesis. A few years ago it was thought that the LXX, in the many places where it differs widely from the known Hebrew text, had been carelessly translated⁴ or that the translators did not know the meaning of some Hebrew words. Now, because of recent discoveries and publications,

1. Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1967, p.224.
2. David Daube makes this pertinent observation; he says that "There must, therefore, have existed a nucleus of sayings and stories in Aramaic. But it has been convincingly argued that Greek versions of these, or many of these, were current from an early date and were used by the evangelists or even their sources. Probably some narratives and sayings to be found in the gospels were in Greek from the outset. The truth seems to be that the problem does not admit of a uniform solution to be stated in a few words." p.3.
3. B.J. Roberts, p.141, Liddon, p.225.
4. Meyer, Vol.II, p.158. Sanday and Headlam, p.265.

this concept is seriously questioned.¹ The LXX is thought, at least in certain places, to be the translation of a still unknown Hebrew text. However, it seems safer to explain Paul's citations from the OT on the basis of the textual evidence that we now have. It is altogether too easy to explain difficult textual problems by reference to an unknown text. Paul's citations vary so much and in so many ways that it is difficult to believe that there are different texts which stand behind the variants. Therefore, while recognizing the possibility of Paul's reliance, in a few instances, upon a text still unknown, we propose to explain, to the extent we can, his citations upon the basis of known texts.

d. Analysis of Citations.

It is difficult to classify or analyse Paul's quotations from the OT. The form of each citation is largely determined by its immediate context in Paul's composition of Romans. Often citations are so modified that it is difficult to determine what has really happened. For this reason the tables compiled and the following classifications are not to be considered final or absolute.

First we will discuss those citations taken verbatim from the OT. There are at least fifty-seven citations² from the OT in Romans. Eleven of these citations are in their entirety verbatim from the LXX and the MT.³ Seven of these fifty-seven are in agreement with the LXX against the MT. Further there are two citations⁴ in which the first part is modified but the last part is verbatim from the LXX

1. Fitzmyer, 4Q Testimonia, pp.535-36.

2. There are fifty-eight citations if you include Exodus 20:13-17 along with Deuteronomy 5:17-21 in Romans 13:9.

3. See Table I page 402.

4. Romans 3:16 (Isaiah 59:7-8) and Romans 9:9b (Genesis 18:10).

and the MT. Thus thirty-one percent of Paul's quotations in Romans are verbatim from the LXX and if the citations which have the final part verbatim are allowed, then this is increased to thirty-four percent.

In addition to this there are twenty-six citations which are very close to being verbatim.¹ Of these twenty-six (forty-five percent of all the citations from the OT in Romans) fifteen are in their entirety in agreement with the LXX and the MT. Eight are in agreement with the LXX against MT and three are closer in some respects to the Hebrew than to the LXX. Three citations have been modified considerably but remain verbatim in part.² In ten citations Paul omits a word or phrase. Thirteen times he substitutes another word for that found in the LXX. And in four places he adds a word to the citation.

Thus forty-one citations, or seventy-two percent of Paul's citations from the OT, are in their entirety either verbatim or nearly so from the LXX. Four of his citations (7%) are partially verbatim and partially modified. Fifteen of these citations, or nearly twenty-six percent, are in agreement or nearly so, with the LXX against the MT and three are closer to the MT. Thus the verbatim and near-verbatim citations represent forty-four out of fifty-seven quotations from the OT, or about seventy-seven percent. This is about six percent less than Kautzsch's findings.³ He found seventy out of eighty-four (83%) citations were in agreement or differed only slightly from the LXX. The difference in these percentage rates may be due to the fact that Kautzsch's figure represents all

1. See Table II, p.403.

2. Romans 3:12 (Psalm 13:1), 17 (Isaiah 59:7), and 9:33^b (Isaiah 28:16)

3. Kautzsch. p.5.

the citations in Pauline writings rather than only those in Romans. Or it may be that he was more generous in his judgment of what constitutes a "slight variation" from the LXX.

Paul agrees with Codex A against other MSS nine times¹ but disagrees with its reading seven times. He agrees with Codex B against other MSS five times but disagrees with it ten times. Paul agrees with Codex \aleph against others eight times but is in disagreement with it nine times. In twenty-four instances he is in agreement with Codices A, B, \aleph and in two instances he is in disagreement with them. From these figures it is evident that Paul, at least for his verbatim and near-verbatim citations, used a text which was very much in agreement with the "big-three of the LXX", A, B, \aleph , with a slight preference for Codex A. In three instances Paul favors the MT against the LXX as against fifteen instances where he favored the LXX against the MT. In most instances (26) the LXX and the MT agree closely so that it is impossible to tell whether they were made definitely from the Hebrew or the Greek text. But the positive evidence indicates Paul favored the LXX.

These verbatim or near-verbatim citations are taken from eleven books of the OT.² In every instance when Paul cites Genesis or the Psalms it is verbatim. These facts point up the fact of Paul's familiarity with the OT. In the Psalm citations Paul is in agreement with \aleph once against other MSS and differs from \aleph , A, and B once, elsewhere he is in agreement with the "big three of the LXX". In Isaiah Paul cites in agreement with Codices A and \aleph three times, with A, and \aleph and B once in each instance. This, too,

1. Freed, p.126. See also Table III page 404.

2. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk, and Malachi.

shows a slight preference for Codex A in citing Isaiah.

Thus we are left with twelve citations (21%) in which there are considerable variations from any known MS.¹ In addition there are four citations in which part of the citation is given verbatim from the LXX or from the MT the rest being modified considerably.² In these twelve citations Paul uses fifty-three percent of the words of the LXX against seventy-six percent for all his quotations in Romans. He omits fourteen percent of the words found in the LXX against eleven percent for all his quotations in Romans and finally he substitutes twenty-eight percent of the words found in the LXX against thirteen percent for all his quotations in Romans.³

Paul quotes from two more OT books among these considerably modified citations.⁴ This brings the total books quoted from the OT in Romans to thirteen.

There is indication here, too, that Paul agreed with Codex A in these citations though the evidence is not extensive. Nine times he cites for the reading of Codex A and four times he reads against it. Four times he seems to be in agreement with the three major texts of the LXX (A, B, \aleph). He is in agreement with Codex B in four instances and in disagreement in ten instances. He is in opposition to Codex \aleph once. It seems, therefore, that Paul favored the readings of Codex A.

1. Romans 2:24 (Isaiah 52:5); 9:17 (Exodus 9:16); 9:25 (Hosea 2:23) 9:27-8 (Isaiah 10:22-3); 10:15 (Isaiah 52:7); 11:3 (I Kings 19:14); 11:4 (I Kings 19:18); 11:8 (Isaiah 29:10, Deuteronomy 29:4); 11:35 (Job 41:3); 12:19 (Deuteronomy 32:35); 14:11 (Isaiah 45:23).
2. Romans 3:10-11 (Psalm 13:1); 3:15 (Isaiah 59:7); 9:9a (Genesis 18:10); 9:33a (Isaiah 28:16).
3. C. Table VIII, p.409.
4. I Kings and the book of Job.

We may say then in conclusion that:

1. Paul cites from thirteen OT books in Romans. With all of these books, from all sections of the OT, he shows a great deal of familiarity.

2. Paul cites in conformity with the LXX in fifty out of fifty-seven citations, or eighty-seven percent of the time. Of these fifty citations twenty-seven (54%) are also in agreement with the MT and twenty-three (46%) are cited with the LXX against the MT. Paul's dependence upon the LXX is evident from these figures. Therefore we conclude with H.B. Swete and others that the LXX was the primary source from which Paul derived his citations.¹ It is evident, though, that this was no slavish dependence as is shown by the fact that in seven instances (12%) Paul cites in favor of the MT against the LXX², in thirty-two instances he varies to read different from both the MT and the LXX, and in twenty-nine instances his citations vary from the LXX and the MT where they agree.³

3. Paul favored the texts of the "big three of the LXX", namely Codices A, B, and \aleph in as much as he is in agreement with all three of them in twenty-eight instances, or nearly fifty percent of the time. In the other instances he is in agreement with one or more of them except in the case of Job 41:3 where he departs widely from the LXX and follows the MT.

1. H.B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, pp.392, 400f. See also Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.12-13. Kautzsch, p.5. Schoeps, pp.27-32, 217-18. A.D. Nock says "Paul is not writing peasant Greek or Soldier Greek; he is writing the Greek of a man who has the Septuagint in his blood and has a supreme self-confidence in using words which allows him to play tricks with a sentence, to make his queer explosive transitions in the middle of a phrase. Paul saw life around him in terms of the Septuagint." The Vocabulary of the New Testament, Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. LII, 1933, pp.138-39.

2. Cf. Table V, p. 406.

3. Cf. Table VI, p.407.

4. We may feel sure that Paul favored Codex A, or a MS that was very similar to it. He cites in agreement with Codex A against other MSS eighteen times but is in disagreement in only eleven instances. While he is in agreement with Codex B against other MSS in nine instances but is in disagreement in twenty instances. With Codex κ he is in agreement eight times and in disagreement ten times. This evidence indicates a slight, but decided, preference for Codex A or a similar text.¹

2. REASONS FOR PAUL'S VARIATION FROM THE LXX

a. Free Quotation from Memory.

While some scholars regard Paul's memory of the "Aramaic Oral Targum" as the source of his quotations, and therefore of the variants found in them, yet other scholars account for these variations by ascribing them to a faulty memory. This is done so widely and seemingly so casually, if not carelessly, that such practice, without sufficient evidence, must be suspect. The evidence we have indicates that caution should be exercised.²

It is well known that until comparatively recently education consisted largely in reading and recitation until a thing was learned and could be reproduced by rote memory. It is well documented that the Jewish Rabbis and others, through the constant exercise of their memories, could accomplish what seem to us today, when writing and writing materials are so common, completely impossible feats of memory.

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1. Toy's contention that Codex A in the OT is unreliable (see page 124 of this thesis) because of many corrections to make it conform to the NT text seems unfounded and unsupported by modern scholarship. C.H. Roberts says that there are some glosses of a theological nature but that A is our third best MS for the OT, ranking only after Codices B and κ . He also indicates that some scholars believe A to be an independent translation and not simply a textual variant of the LXX itself. Roberts, pp.152-153.
 2. Cf. Stoddard, pp.415-417.

As a rule the first book learned in the "bet sefer", the Jewish school for boys who began attendance at five to seven years of age,¹ was Leviticus. This training consisted mainly in the learning of a "correctly cantillated reading of the sacred text, and probably also the learning of the relatively simple translation given in the Targum".² The text had to be learned by heart. Memorizing of the text of the OT therefore played a basic educational role in Hebrew education. The written Torah could not be learned from oral recitation from the teacher. It had to be learned from the text itself. The aim was to teach the pupil to read the text fluently and accurately which in practice meant reading it off by heart. This method of learning was practiced in Hellenistic schools as well but it was more closely adhered to by the Jewish schools. Talmudic literature makes it plain that the children had to learn the Scripture by heart. These texts learned by the small boy in "bet sefer" were to be kept as a lifelong attainment. Jerome stated that the Jews of his day knew Moses and the Prophets by heart. Any scholar who showed indecision when dealing with the written Torah was derisively told to return to the "bet sefer". The Rabbis in all Rabbinic literature bear constant witness to unequalled memory-knowledge of the Scriptures.³

With this background in mind it seems incredible that Paul should constantly quote from a faulty memory. Paul came from a strictly Jewish home in Tarsus of Asia Minor. He was sent to Jerusalem to study under one of the best-known Rabbis of his day.⁴ Paul says of

1. A. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Reprint, 1945, Vol. I, pp. 331-33.

2. Gerhardsson, pp. 57-66.

3. The information of the above paragraph is largely taken from Gerhardsson, pp. 57-66.

4. There are indications that Paul may have been sent to Jerusalem at an early age and so brought up there. See W.C. Van Unnik, p. 52f.

himself that he is a Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee, a Hebrew of the Hebrews.¹ Which is Paul's way of saying that he came behind none; that he ranked with the best scholars of his day. Could he conscientiously say this if he had such a faulty memory that he made constant mistakes in quoting that which was most important to them, the sacred Scriptures? It cannot be claimed that Paul's memory failed in later years for his citations vary from the OT even in his earlier epistles. Paul, unless he misrepresents himself and is misrepresented in Acts by Luke must have known large sections of the OT by heart and have been very familiar with it in its entirety.

Therefore we conclude that, while a faulty memory cannot be ruled out in every case, it is highly unlikely that his citations in many cases vary from the texts of the OT because of a faulty memory.

We agree with Ellis:

"The importance of scriptural memorization for the Jew, Paul's rabbinic training, and the verbal exactness of many of his quotations, militate against" memory lapse.²

However, if "memory quotation" should be understood as "...a free rendering in accordance with literary custom, or for an exegetical purpose, rather than as a result of memory lapse"³, we would be quick to concede that many cases of this type of "memory quotation" occur in Romans.

b. Grammatical Variations.

In preaching from the Bible the preacher often needs to alter

1. See Acts 23:5; Phil. 3:5. Also Schoeps, pp.24-25.

2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp.40-41.

3. Ibid. p.15.

his text slightly in order to fit it into the living context of his thought. These alterations are not made because the preacher is contemptuous of Scripture but because the preacher wants to apply the teaching of Scripture to the present-day needs of his congregation. Paul was no exception. Paul did not use the OT loosely or capriciously.¹ He revered the OT. The OT was the oracles of God to him.² The OT was a way of life for Paul as it was for all pious Jews. It was for this reason to be studied and memorized. But this reverence for the OT was practical. The OT was dynamic, not static.³ It lived and its dynamism was only realized when it was applied to the living circumstances of each succeeding generation. In applying the OT to his human context Paul was not bound by narrow legalistic concepts. He used the OT as a good craftsman uses his tools. Where the grammatical modification of a text meant a better understanding and application Paul did not hesitate to make the changes necessary. However, there is no evidence that Paul made changes in the OT text arbitrarily.

There are only a few places where Paul makes grammatical modifications. We will now look at some of these citations.⁴ In Romans 2:24, among other changes for differing reasons, Paul takes the statement made by God in Isaiah 52:5 and modifies it so that it becomes a general statement, that God's name is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of the Jews. It would have been awkward to

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1. "For Paul, the Scriptures are the words of God (τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ , Romans 3:2) He is entirely in agreement with the opinion that they provide an inexhaustible source of revelation, comfort, teaching, instruction, and discipline. It is unthinkable for him that the Scriptures should be dispensed with." Gerhardsson, p.284.
 2. Romans 3:1-2.
 3. Gerhardsson, pp.40-41.
 4. See Table VII, page 408.

have used the citation exactly as it occurs in the OT. By changing it into a general statement Paul is able to apply it generally without distorting the original meaning. Paul uses the third person (them) instead of the second person (you) in Romans 11:8 because he has reference to unbelieving Israel. To have used the second person would have included his readers among whom were believing Jews. This seems to be purely a grammatical change to suit his human context. In Romans 11:9 Paul adds *αὐτοῖς* for grammatical clarification. In Romans 15:11 the *καί* may have been added for grammatical reasons. Paul omits the *ὅτι* in Romans 15:21 because it does not fit the grammatical context where he uses it.

There are other places where Paul may have made grammatical modifications in the text he cites from the OT but they are comparatively rare when compared with other reasons for modification of the text. It is often difficult to tell exactly what brought about the change and many factors may have influenced Paul.

c. Editorial or Hermeneutical Variations.

Because the majority of variants occur under this heading we will take up first those variants which occur in the citations which are nearly verbatim and then those that occur in the citations which contain considerable modification.

In order to have the facts of these citations available for quick reference we will briefly outline the variants which occur and then seek to discover the reasons which lie behind the changes.

1. Variants in Nearly Verbatim Citations.

Romans 1:17 -- *μὴν* is omitted for a more general application.

3:12 -- The change is only in Orthography.

3:14 -- οὗ is changed to ὧν and αὐτοῦ is omitted for grammatical reasons and for wider application. The order of the citation is changed and δόλον dropped for greater emphasis.

3:17 -- ἔγνωσαν is substituted for the οἶδασιν of the LXX.

3:18 -- αὐτοῦ is changed to αὐτῶν for grammatical reasons and for a wider application.

4:3 -- Ἀβραάμ is substituted for Ἀβράμ.

8:36 -- ἔνεκεν is substituted for ἔνεκα.

9:15 -- The change is only in Orthography.

9:26 -- καὶ αὐτοί is omitted and ἔχει added in agreement with Codex A. καὶ αὐτοί is omitted by Origen, Clement of Rome and others which may indicate another text. But it is more likely that Paul omitted καὶ αὐτοί as redundant as does Codex A.

9:33^b -- Paul added ἐπ' αὐτῷ as do Codices A and N. μὴ is omitted and the mood of the verb is changed. Codices D, E, F, and G follow the LXX in having οὐ μὴ καταιοχυνθῇ, this is insufficient evidence for the "better" texts all read οὐ καταιοχυνθήσεται. Paul perhaps felt that the simple negative with the indicative was a more forceful way of emphasising his thought than the subjunctive with the strong double negative.

10:5 -- Whether my correction holds for this citation or not, there are two modifications of the text made by Paul. The relative ὃ coming immediately after ὅτι was probably changed to ὅ for grammatical reasons. αὐτοῖς is supported by Codices

p46, D, E, F, G, K, L, P, Ψ , and many other MSS so the reading of our text (αὐτῶν) may be in error. αὐτὰ which is supported by p46, B, the Koine texts, and in the parallel passage in Galatians 3:12, is perhaps put in by Paul as the object of ποιήσας in correspondence to the עֲשָׂה of the Hebrew.

10:6 -- ἡμῶν is omitted perhaps because Paul felt that it added nothing to the idea he wished to express.

10:8 -- The change of order is no doubt due to the fact that Paul wished to emphasize the nearness of the word to the believer. σφόδρα is omitted because with ἔγγυς put in the emphatic position at the beginning of the phrase σφόδρα was not needed.

10:11 -- The addition of πᾶς makes the idea of the phrase more emphatic. The other changes are explained in 9:33 above.

10:19 -- αὐτοῖς is made to read ὑμῶν . This is brought about by the fact that Paul wants to apply the prophecy of Moses to the unbelieving Jews of his day.

10:20 -- The change in the order of the phrases may be due to the fact that Paul wanted to put the emphasis upon the second phrase, or perhaps it was due to a slip of the memory.

10:21 -- The change in the order of the phrases is due to the fact that Paul wished to emphasize the time element in this citation and therefore the patience and long suffering of God.

11:9 -- Paul omits ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν as redundant. He changes the order slightly and adds θῆρα from Psalm 35:8 in order to give a fuller and more consecutive sequence to his thought.

11:10 -- There are orthographic changes only.

11:26 -- I believe, with Ellis, that Paul changes ἔνεκεν to read ἐκ because he had a definite "hermeneutical purpose in view", for Paul wishes to show that the Redeemer is to come "out of" rather than "for the sake of" Zion.

11:27 -- The last part of the phrase is changed to the plural in order to give it wider application.

11:34 -- γάρ is used causally to introduce scriptural proof for verse thirty-three. The change of καί to ἥ is done for grammatical reasons and perhaps to add emphasis by breaking up the question in the LXX into two rather pointed questions. αὐτοῦ is put after σύμβουλος in accord with Codex A against Codex B.

13:9 -- This verse is verbatim with the LXX of Deuteronomy 5:17-21 and is verbatim with Exodus 20:13-17 in Codex A but disagrees, in order only, with Codex B.

15:9 -- Paul may have followed the LXX here in including the vocative Κύριε which is supported by Codex X but it seems more likely that this is an attempt on the part of a scribe to make Codex X read in agreement with the LXX. Paul, not addressing his remarks to God but introducing a catena of Scripture to show the inclusion of the Gentiles with the Jews in the worship of God, would feel that the direct address, Κύριε was better omitted.

15:11 -- Paul changes the order to emphasize πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in accord with the emphasis of this whole catena of Scripture. He reads ἐπαινεσάτωσαν with Codex A against Codex B.

15:12 -- Paul omits ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ perhaps because he felt this prophecy had been fulfilled in Jesus and perhaps because it would detract from the emphasis he has just been

putting upon the union of the Gentiles with the Jews in the worship of God.

These citations contain some orthographical changes which may be due to scribal errors,¹ but Paul may have modified the citations to agree with his own preferences.² Aside from these modifications all other variants seem to be done editorially for grammatical, exegetical or other reasons.

Five times Paul felt that it was necessary to make changes in the Scripture he cited because in adapting to the context of his letter the grammar needed to be adjusted.³ In five instances he definitely follows the reading of Codex A while rejecting the readings of Codices B, \aleph , and other MSS.⁴ In six citations he omits words found in Codices A, B, and \aleph because they were not pertinent to the ideas he was developing. In at least seven of his citations changes are made so that a wider application of the OT may be made than the original text would allow. In sixteen instances Paul either changes the OT citation in order to modify the normal application allowable by the OT text or to place certain words or phrases in emphatic position, or both. It is thus apparent, in these citations at least, that Paul did not feel himself bound to any legalistic concept concerning Scripture.

2. Variants in Citations which also are Verbatim in Part.

Romans 3:10-11 -- Paul substitutes $\delta\iota\kappaαιος$ for $\kappaαι\omega\gamma$
 $\chiρησ\tau\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$ because it is in accord with his argument that
 $\upsilon\pi' \alpha\muαρ\tau\iotaαν \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nuαι$ is a want of $\deltaι\kappaαιοσ\acute{o}\nu\eta$. He shortens

1. See Romans 3:12; 9:15; 11:10.

2. See Romans 4:3; 8:36.

3. See Table VII, page 408.

4. Cf. Table III, page 404.

the last phrase without materially reducing its impact. In verse eleven Paul enlarges the sense of the LXX and the MT. He changes an implied negative statement into a very forceful negative statement. The first part of this citation has been deliberately modified to support Paul's argument. The meaning of the original, while not disregarded, has been changed so that it supports Paul's argument more positively and directly.

3:15 -- Paul has shortened this citation and modified it extensively. The metaphor has been changed and strengthened, yet the meaning has been retained and heightened.

9:9^a -- Again Paul has shortened the citation considerably. He has omitted ἐπαναστρέφων, πρὸς σε and εἰς ὥρας because they add nothing to his argument, though they give details to the narrative in Genesis. ἤξω may have been changed to ἔλεύσομαι because ἔλεύσομαι was the more common or because ἤκω may have been used more often in connection with pagan cults¹ than ἔλεύσομαι and therefore was less acceptable to Paul.

9:33^a -- The change in this citation is perhaps the greatest of any citation we have considered thus far. Paul has mixed together two citations from the OT in one of the clearest confluents in his letter to the Romans. Paul's statement is concise, representing a shortening of the original wording, and conveys, with greatly added force, the ideas found in the two passages in Isaiah. The citation gives no impression of being a garbled version of these two passages but appears to be an editing of these passages to put the idea of these passages more concisely and forcefully and with greater effect for Paul's argument.

1. See Arndt and Gingrich in reference to ἤκω.

These four citations have been modified much more extensively than those which were nearly verbatim. In each case Paul shortens, omits, substitutes or conflates as he felt it necessary to fit the citation into the context of his letter.

3. Citations With Considerable Variation.

Romans 2:24 -- Paul changes the order because he wishes to change the emphasis of the citation from δι' ὑμᾶς to ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ . μου is changed to τοῦ θεοῦ for clarification. διὰ παντός is omitted perhaps because Paul felt that it did not add to his argument.

9:17 -- Paul makes the citation more emphatic by reading εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο for καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦτου . He follows the MT in ἐξήγειρά σε and reads δύναιμι for ἰσχύειν as does Codex A.

9:25 -- Paul inverts the text of Hosea 2:23 so that it gives the emphasis where he wants it. ἔρῳ may have been substituted for καλέσω because of the influence of the previous verse or it may be that Paul used this verb so that he could be more concise by omitting εἰ σὺ .

9:27-8 -- Paul makes three substitutions and omits a great deal of Isaiah 10:22-3. The resultant citation expresses substantially the meaning of the LXX but in much more concise and shorter format.

10:15 -- Paul edits Isaiah 52:7 quite severely. He omits ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων perhaps because it has only local reference. He changes ὥρα to ὥρατοι for which there is second century Old Latin support. He omits ὥς and adds the plural article before πόδες . He adds τῶν before the participle which he makes plural as well. In short, he edits a somewhat

long cumbersome quotation into a concise pungent citation.

11:3 -- Paul's editorial knife slashes quite deeply, but not wildly here. What he does is omit words and phrases which embellish the statement in the original text but which add little or nothing to the citation as he wants to use it.

11:4 -- Paul reduces the number of words of the LXX from fifteen to ten. He changes the tense of the first verb to agree with the MT but at the same time omits words which are in both the MT and the LXX. There is no change in the meaning of the citation, it is made more concise and expressive.

11:8 -- In the quotation from Isaiah 29:10 Paul has simplified the metaphor. The Hebrew has "Yahweh has poured out" and the LXX has "the Lord has given you to drink". Paul has simply "God gave". This use of a different verb means that πνεύματι is put in the accusative case. Paul also changes ὑμῶς to αὐτοῖς because of his different relationship to those addressed from that of Isaiah. In Deuteronomy 29:4 Paul uses only the last two phrases and they are changed from a negative to a positive statement. Paul has, by his changes, combined the thought of the two passages and has made a stronger and more expressive statement than the two quotations would have made if quoted verbatim.

11:35 -- In this citation from Job 41:3 Paul follows the Hebrew with only a change of person to adapt the citation to his context. It is only when Paul cites from Job that he departs widely from the LXX.

12:19 -- The citation, as Paul uses it, is found in Hebrews 10:30 except that λέγει Κύριος is omitted. In adding λέγει Κύριος Paul follows Codex A. The expression is also very close to that of the Targum. Paul here probably was following a

proverbial formula of warning. At any rate, Paul's statement is stronger than that of the LXX.

14:11 -- The substitution of $\zeta\omega\ \epsilon\gamma\omega$, λέγει Κύριος (cf. Isa. 49:18) for κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ ὁμνῶ may have been because the former was a "frequently recurring formula" which is far more expressive than the LXX. ~~He~~ substitutes ἐξομολογήσεται for ὁμνῶται *as does* Codex A. The change of order in the last phrase may have been because Paul wanted to place the universality of the praise of God in the most emphatic position.

In these citations Paul in three instances has followed the variant reading of Codex A. In one instance he has followed the Hebrew against the LXX which departs widely from the Hebrew. Five times he makes changes which seem to indicate a desire on Paul's part to change the emphasis of the OT text. Twice Paul follows expressions which were either common or had become proverbial. But almost in every case, except for the latter, Paul alters the OT text to make it shorter, more concise or expressive. In almost every case the citation retains the original meaning but it is so polished that it fits like a gem into the context of Paul's letter to the Romans.

It is apparent when these variants are carefully analysed that Paul edited the quotations which he cited from the OT. He felt free to modify the OT in whatever way he felt was necessary to adapt it to the context of his letter. In fact, Paul's citations vary so much and in so many ways that it is difficult to think, except for a very few cases, that different texts stand behind the variants. One cannot explain these variants on the basis that Paul followed Rabbinic method, which, of course, he did, but not in its extremes.¹ Nor can we account for them adequately by

1. Schoeps, p.39.

postulating a "testimony book" for at best this theory can help only in explaining the variants in composite citations. Faulty memory may explain the variants in a few cases, but when used extensively to explain these variants, it quickly becomes evident that it is not consistent with what is known concerning the use of the memory among the Jews at this stage in their history. And since grammatical changes seldom occur in the citations it is evident that we cannot explain the variants in Paul's citations by referring to his grammatical usage.

In studying the citations in Romans one cannot but be impressed by the fact that Paul edits the OT passages he cites, at will. He shortens almost every passage he cites.³ He omits every word that is not pertinent to the development of his thought. He often takes a rather long complicated passage and reduces it to a concise, expressive, effective, and polished statement which still retains the original germinal meaning, but is so edited by Paul that he is able to use it in a heightened sense, give it a wider application or emphasis, or, in some cases, give it a different application altogether.¹ He substitutes words quite often to gain effect, clarity, or widen the application. He conflates OT passages almost always editing so that the thought of the passages is retained but it is expressed more concisely and effectively. When one compares the OT passage with Paul's citation of it one cannot but be impressed with Paul's ability as an editor. In almost every case² the OT passage is so masterfully edited that it fits like a gem into the context of Paul's letter to the Romans. In short, Paul is not bound by lega-

1. Gerhardsson, p.299.

2. There are two notable exceptions, Romans 12:19 and 14:11. In the former Paul was following a proverbial saying and in the latter he was perhaps following a recurring formula of warning.

3. Although he sometimes expands. Cf. the quotation of Ps. 143:2 in Rom. 3:20.

listic or superstitious ideas concerning the use of what was to him Sacred Scripture. He felt free to vary both the MT and the LXX so as to express more clearly such ideas as he wanted to convey to his readers in Rome.¹ However, in no instance, has Paul altered the Hebrew or Greek text of the OT in order to gain an advantage or produce a proof to which the OT Scriptures bear no testimony, nor does he in any way cast doubt upon what is written there.² We may be sure that there were many avenues of suggestion which influenced Paul. He may have been influenced by the need to clearly express and defend his argument and he was no doubt influenced by the grammatical context as well as the human context of his letter. We conclude, therefore, that, though no doubt some variants occur because of grammatical reasons, slip of memory, etc., yet the overwhelming majority of the variants are adequately explained only on the basis of editorial and exegetical necessity.

1. Stuart, p.356.

2. Atkinson, p.63.

VERBATIM CITATIONS

Citations which are verbatim with :

both the MT and the
LXX in their entiretyboth the MT and the
LXX in partthe LXX against the
MT in their entirety3:13^b3:13^a

3:16

4:7-8

4:17

4:18

7:7

9:7

9:9^b

9:12

9:13

9:29

10:13

10:16

10:18

12:20

13:9

15:3

15:10

15:21

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VIRTUALLY VERBATIM CITATIONS

Minor variations but the citation agrees substantially with :

both MT and LXX	LXX against MT	MT against LXX	Omissions	Substi- tutions	Additions
	1:17		1:17		
	3:4			3:4	
3:12				3:12	
	3:14		3:14		
3:17				3:17	
3:18				3:18	
	4:3			4:3	
8:36				8:36	
9:15				9:15	
9:26			9:26		9:26
		9:33 ^b			
10:5				10:5	
10:6			10:6		
10:8			10:8		
		10:11			
10:19				10:19	
	10:20				
10:21					
	11:9		11:9	11:9	11:9
		11:10			11:10
11:26-27			11:26-7	11:26-7	
	11:34			11:34	
13:9			13:9		
15:9			15:9		
15:11				15:11	15:11
	15:12		15:12		

VIRTUALLY VERBATIM CITATIONS

Minor variations because:

Changes of orthography	Grammatical reasons	Followed Codex A	Reduntant	Wider applica- tion	Change of application or emphasis
				1:17	1:17
3:12					
	3:14				3:14
				3:17	3:17
	3:18			3:18	3:18
4:3					
8:36					
9:15					
		9:26	9:26		9:26
		9:33 ^b			9:33 ^b
			10:6		
			10:8		10:8
				10:11	10:11
					10:19
					10:20
					10:21
			11:9	11:9	
11:10					11:26
	11:27	11:27-8		11:27	
	11:34	11:34			11:34
		13:9			
	15:9		15:9		15:9
		15:11		15:11	15:11
			15:12		15:12

VARIATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE CITATION

Single type variation	Multiple type variations	Variaton in word order	Text abridged	Conflation of texts
1:17	2:24	2:24	3:11	9:9
3:10	3:11	3:14	3:14	9:25-26
3:12	3:14	9:9 ^a	3:15	9:33
3:17	3:15	9:25	9:9 ^a	11:8
3:18	9:9 ^a	10:8	9:9 ^b	11:9
4:3	9:25	10:20	9:26	11:26-27
9:17	9:26	10:21	9:28	11:34-35
10:5	9:27	11:3	9:33	
10:6	9:28	11:8	10:7	
10:19	9:33	11:9	10:8	
10:21	10:7	11:34	10:15	
10:10	10:8	15:11	11:3	
13:9	10:11	15:21	11:4	
14:11	10:15		11:8	
15:9	10:20		11:9	
15:12	11:3		11:26-27	
	11:4		13:9	
	11:8		14:11	
	11:9		15:12	
	11:26-27			
	11:34			
	11:35			
	12:19			
	15:11			
	15:21			

VARIATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE CITATION
(contd.)

Retains LXX reading against MT	Retains MT reading against LXX	Omits reading against MT, LXX	Omits LXX reading not found in MT	Omits MT reading not found in LXX
1:17	9:17	1:17	1:17	1:17
2:24	9:33 ^b	3:10	9:17	3:14
3:4	10:11	3:11	9:27	9:27
3:13 ^a	11:4	3:14	9:28	10:5
3:14	11:10	3:15	9:33	(10:15)
4:3	11:35	9:9 ^a	10:8	
9:25	12:19	9:26	10:11	
9:27		9:27	(10:15)	
9:28		9:28	11:4	
9:29		9:33	11:35	
9:33		10:6	12:19	
10:5		10:7		
10:16		10:8		
10:18		10:15		
10:20		11:3		
10:21		11:4		
11:9		11:9		
11:34		11:26		
12:20		11:34		
14:11		13:9		
15:10		15:9		
15:12		15:12		
15:21		15:21		

VARIATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE CITATION
(contd.)

Adds reading not found in LXX, MT	Varies to read against both MT and LXX	Varies where MT and LXX vary	Varies from the MT and LXX where they agree
2:24	1:17	1:17	2:24
3:11	2:24	3:10	3:10
3:15	3:10	4:3	3:11
9:26	3:11	9:17	3:14
9:27	3:14	9:25	3:15
10:7	3:15	9:28	3:18
10:11	3:18	9:33	9:9 ^a
10:15	9:9 ^a	10:11	9:17
11:8	9:25	10:15	9:25
11:9	9:26	11:4	9:26
11:26	9:27	11:8	9:27
(11:35)	9:28	11:9	9:33
14:11	9:33	11:26	10:5
15:11	10:5	11:35	10:6
	10:6	12:19	10:7
	10:7	14:11	10:11
	10:11	15:12	10:15
	10:15		10:19
	10:19		10:21
	10:20		11:3
	10:21		11:4
	11:3		11:8
	11:4		11:9
	11:8		11:26-27
	11:9		14:11
	11:26-27		15:9
	11:35		15:11
	14:11		15:12
	15:9		15:21
	15:11		
	(15:12)		
	15:21		

VARIATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE CITATION
(contd.)

Varies for grammatical reasons	Varies for editorial reasons	Varies for exegetical reasons	Varies from faulty memory	Varies because of scribal error
2:24	2:24	1:17	(1:17)	(3:4)
3:14	3:10	2:24	(3:17)	(3:12)
11:8	3:14	3:10	(4:3)	(3:17)
11:9	3:15	3:11	(9:17)	(8:36)
15:11	(3:17)	3:14	(9:25)	(9:15)
15:21	3:18	(3:17)	(9:26)	(10:8)
	4:3	3:18	(9:28)	(11:9)
	8:36	9:17	(10:5)	(11:34)
	9:9 ^a	9:25	(10:6)	(15:9)
	9:15	9:26	(10:8)	
	9:17	9:27	(10:15)	
	9:25	9:33 ^a	(10:20)	
	9:26	10:5	(10:21)	
	(9:27)	10:7	(11:3)	
	9:28	10:11	(11:9)	
	9:33	10:19	(11:34)	
	10:5	(10:21)	(13:9)	
	10:6	11:3	(14:11)	
	10:8	11:4	(15:9)	
	10:11	11:8	(15:11)	
	10:15	11:9		
	10:20	11:26-27		
	10:21	(11:34)		
	11:3	11:35		
	11:4	12:19		
	11:8	13:9		
	11:9	15:11		
	11:26	(15:12)		
	11:34			
	11:35			
	12:19			
	13:9			
	14:11			
	15:9			
	15:12			
	15:21			

WORD COUNT

<u>Reference</u>	Agrees with LXX	Omissions of words or short phrases within citation	Substitu- tions of different words or word forms	Additions of extra words	Variation in tense, case, mood
1:17	6	1	-	-	-
2:24	8	2	1	1	-
3:4	12	-	1	-	2
3:10	2	2	4	-	-
3:11	5	4	-	5	-
3:12	11	-	1	-	-
3:13	15	-	-	-	-
3:14	6	1	1	-	-
3:15	5	5	-	1	-
3:16	7	-	-	-	-
3:17	4	-	1	-	-
3:18	7	-	1	-	-
4:3	8	-	2	-	-
4:7-8	18	-	-	-	-
4:17	6	-	-	-	-
4:18	5	-	-	-	-
7:7	2	-	-	-	-
8:36	11	-	-	-	-
9:7	5	-	-	-	-
9:9 ^a	4	2	1	-	-
9:9 ^b	5	-	-	-	-
9:12	5	-	-	-	-
9:13	7	-	-	-	-
9:15	9	-	-	-	-
9:17	15	-	6	1	-
9:25	7	1	2	-	5
9:26	16	2	-	1	-
9:27	8	1	6	-	-
9:28	6	5	4	1	-
9:29	16	-	-	-	-
9:33	5	17	8	2	-

WORD COUNT (contd.)

<u>Reference</u>	Agrees with LXX	Omissions of words or short phrases within citation	Substitu- tions of different words or word forms	Additions of extra words	Variation in tense, case, mood
10:5	4	-	2	-	-
10:6	5	1	-	-	-
10:7	3	1	4	-	-
10:8	14	1	-	-	-
10:11	5	1	1	1	-
10:13	8	-	-	-	-
10:15	3	8	2	2	-
10:16	6	-	-	-	-
10:18	17	-	-	-	-
10:19	8	-	3	-	-
10:20	10	-	1	-	1
10:21	12	-	-	-	-
11:3	14	3	3	-	-
11:4	3	2	9	-	-
11:8	9	-	5	5	1
11:9	12	2	3	1	-
11:10	13	-	-	1	-
11:26-7	17	1	4	-	-
11:34	8	-	1	-	-
11:35	3	-	3	1	-
12:19	1	2	1	2	-
12:20	21	-	-	-	-
13:9	14	(8)	-	-	-
14:11	8	-	6	-	-
15:3	8	-	-	-	-
15:9	11	1	-	-	-
15:10	6	-	-	-	-
15:11	10	-	1	1	-
15:12	14	4	-	-	-
15:21	11	1	-	-	-

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